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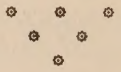

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DAVID A. BORRENSTEIN
A PRINTER AND PUBLISHER AT PRINCETON, N.J., 1824-28

By GEORGE J. MILLER

Rap! Rap! Rap! "The meeting will come to order."

The place.—Spitalfields in London.

The time.—September 9, 1813.

Present.—Forty-one Jewish converts to Christianity. They were assembled in the committee room of the Jews' Chapel for the purpose of forming a "Congregation of Beni Abraham."

At a bare table in the corner, under the light of a candle, sat a secretary writing the minutes of the meeting. He was David A. Borrenstein.

Mr. Varnum Lansing Collins, long secretary of Princeton University, published a brochure *Early Princeton printing* in 1911. He describes the opening of a printing office in that college town in 1824 by a man named David A. Borrenstein, who, like the phantom that passes in the night, left as silently as he came, four years later.[1] For a long period the name had intrigued and fascinated me, leading me on to search for more and more about the man. Where did he come from? And where did he go? The first question can now be answered, but the second still remains a mystery.

The little moth that, pattering up and down the window pane, watches a brilliantly lighted room, seeks an inlet to reach the

[1] *Early Princeton printing*, pp. 13–23.

light. I watch him for a long while meditatingly and wonder whether he too wants to know who Borrenstein was. The room is full of books. An old volume stares at me. I had never removed it from the shelf where it had first earned a place after its acquisition. And it is inscribed: "Thomas N. Stanford, Esq., with the respects of the author, London, October, 1825." The title is: "The origin, progress and existing circumstances, of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. An historical inquiry, by the Rev. N. H. Morris, A. M. Perpetual curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney prebendary of Llandaff, and chaplain to the earl of Shaftesbury, London. Sold by J. Mawman, Ludgate-Hill, and W. Wetton, Fleet-Street, 1825."

I become startled and amazed. There on page 86 is "D. A. Borrenstein" in cold type.

In the baptismal register of St. Clement Dane's Church, Strand, London, we find under the 20th day of May, 1812, "Davis Borronstein." His age is given as twenty-three. It must have been the same man.[2] This sets the date of his birth about 1789. That he was a convert from Judaism cannot be questioned. The Society for Promoting Christianity amongst Jews has, however, no further details of him, his family, or his publications.

This Society was the culmination of a lifelong dream of Joseph Samuel Christian Frederick Frey, a converted Jew who came to England in 1801 from the Moravian Missionary Seminary at Berlin. He obtained a hearing with the committee of the London Missionary Society and succeeded in having himself designated as a missionary to convert those of his own nation instead of proceeding to the Cape of Good Hope, Africa, to reinforce the mission there. Mr. Frey opened the Jewish mission on

[2] Letter, Dec. 8, 1931, from C. H. Gill, secretary of the Church Mission to Jews, the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Founded 1809.

July 6, 1805, in Jewry-Street, London, where he began a course of lectures to the posterity of Abraham. There were weekly prayer meetings for catechizing of Jewish children, and a free school for them. As a means of Jewish conversion, however, his project bore negligible results.

It culminated in the abandonment of the London Missionary Society and the formation of the London Society for Promoting Christianity on March 1, 1809, with Frey as its president. As soon as possible thereafter, the committee purchased the property of a congregation of French Protestants in Spitalfields, designating it as "The Jews' Chapel." The Society sought to provide the Jews with means of earning a living. At length a manufactory of spinning cotton and a "printing-office upon a very considerable scale" were established, from the latter of which "this most gratifying circumstance resulted" that "Jews have been the agents of printing a great part of the Society's publications."[3]

This must have been the source of Borrenstein's printing knowledge and experience. It employed many Jews. It printed many important works—religious tracts, intended to convert the Jews in London and different provincial towns; a Hebrew Bible; an entire new translation of the New Testament in pure biblical Hebrew. Borrenstein must have either grounded himself well in the language or acquired his knowledge in this printing plant. That he had this knowledge is disclosed later in this paper.

Frey was active and instrumental in advancing the interests of the Society. In the United States, fifteen different publications by him were published from 1815 to 1844, several of them in second and third editions. He left England under suspicious circumstances and in 1820 founded the American Society for Improving the Condition of the Jews, enlisting the aid of sev-

[3] Morris, *The origin, progress and existing circumstances, of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews* (1825), p. 42.

eral prominent personages in the country—among them, Elias Boudinot, first director of the Mint; John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state and later president of the United States; Rev. Jer. Day, president of Yale College; and Rev. Ashbel Green, president of Princeton University.

Borrenstein was connected with Frey in London and came to America following the leadership of Frey.

The London Society also engaged in the business of basket-making in order to bring in the Jews. The Ladies' Committee was not able to speak with any confidence on the success of the female asylum. The printing office's greatest obstacle was the lack of work. The chapel was useful to the Christian inhabitants, although few Jews usually attended it.

The lack of interest resulted in the formation of a society by the converted Jews for prayer and other purposes relating to the spiritual welfare of their brethren. It took place at Spitalfields on September 9, 1813. Very imposing solemnity marked the occasion. An elaborate code of laws and method of procedure were set up for their guidance. Forty-one Jewish converts, under the patronage of the London Society, assembled on the occasion in the Committee room at the Jews' Chapel. They assumed as their association designation the name "Beni Abraham." Mr. Moses Marcus, Sr., took the chair in the absence of Mr. Frey. The rules and regulations having been read, every member cheerfully subscribed his name, a suitable address was given on the important objects of the institution, appropriate parts of the Holy Scriptures were read, and the solemnity concluded with prayer by one of the Christian friends—the following persons having been previously appointed a committee for the year ensuing: Rev. C. F. Frey, chairman; Mr. J. Josephson; Mr. J. Parisot; Mr. A. Saul; Mr. A. Hirschfield; Mr. M. Marcus, treasurer; and Mr. D. A. Borrenstein, secretary.[4] The rules and regulations are set out in full on page vii of the appendix of

[4] Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

the history of the Society. In the list of members appended are: D. A. Borrenstein and Mrs. P. Borrenstein, presumably his wife; the Rev. Frey, his wife, Hannah, and Master John; and Mr. Jacob Josephson.

Mr. Goakman, who wrote a pamphlet *London Society examined*, was superintendent of the printing office from July, 1810, to 1813, and from the latter year carried on that concern under the roof of the Jews' Chapel. He found himself surrounded by Jews, all of whom were to be made printers. He says: "I had apprentices sent me from the age of fourteen to fifty; but as there were frequently some running away or leaving, vacancies were made for new converts."

David A. Borrenstein, from the account given by B. R. Goakman, appeared, without money and in very bare clothes, before the Society, which had therefore little difficulty in making him a convert. He was getting on very well when he suddenly left; but, finding it difficult to do anything now in the Jewish community and faced with starvation, he went back to his job in the printing office.

Goakman further describes how picked proselytes were placed at the head of this devotional institution.

Another name is mentioned in the history of the Society that bears relationship to Mr. Borrenstein upon his arrival in the United States. Rev. Charles Simon had been a contributor to the Society from its foundation, having both preached and spoken in its behalf; but, as he expresses it: "It was not that he had first the honour to come on board"—his energies, both pecuniary and vocal, were the acquisition of this period—and accordingly this is the date of his enrolment in the Society's *fasti* with the Rev. T. S. Grimshaw *et al.*

In June, 1816, Mr. Frey, accompanied by several gentlemen and a police officer, made a diligent search in the lodgings of Mr. Josephson, charged with a forgery of a 600-pound note, the time, circumstances, and appearances combining to fix suspi-

cion upon him. They passed through the apartment where Mrs. Josephson was sitting; and she, seeing Mr. Frey among the party, warmly exclaimed that she was not surprised at Mr. Frey's willingness to impeach Mr. Josephson—for the man that has seduced the wife will also betray the husband. No notice was at first taken of those words by the gentlemen present, who supposed them to proceed from the impulse of the moment; but as Mr. Frey's countenance evinced that all was not right, one of the gentlemen took an opportunity to call alone on Mrs. Josephson, and the statement of the guilt seemed to carry such conviction along with it that the same gentleman lost no time in convening a general meeting to investigate the important charge. When Frey was confronted with the strongly suspicious report of his being found in a house of ill fame at Ipswich, together with similar reports from his servant maids and others, he, like other criminals whose cases are of too glaring a nature to admit a doubt, pleaded "Guilty." The result of which was that, in as quiet a way as possible, he was sent out to New York at the expense of the London Society, lest the disgraceful occurrence should injure the reputation of the London Society, perhaps forever.

From 1813, nothing further is heard of David A. Borrenstein until February 12, 1822, when he entered in Stationers' Hall a broadside entitled: *An easy method of acquiring the reading of Hebrew with the vowel-points, according to the ancient practice. By an experienced teacher.* Borrenstein was at 21 Great New Street, Fetter Lane, at the time. A. Macintosh of No. 20 in the same street, printed the broadside. It is $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches broad by $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches long. The registry states the publication was by Ogle & Co., of Paternoster Row, and the property of D. A. Borrenstein. This first sheet bears this very significant note: "Similar tables are also in the course of publication in the Syriac and Arabic languages; and a concise grammar, divided into easy lessons,

each lesson comprised in a separate table, in the three languages, is likewise preparing for the press." The other tables are here described. The grammar was published subsequently in New York. There must have been a second edition of this broadside, for a similar broadside published in New York, to which I will allude later, states that it is taken from the second London edition.

At the end of the same year, December 13, 1822, Borrenstein registered another broadside, similar in size, by the same publishers, and his property. It is entitled: *An easy method of acquiring the reading of Syriac with the vowel-points. By an experienced teacher of Oriental languages.* Borrenstein was then of 14 Upper North Place, Gray's Inn Road.

On January 1, 1823, Borrenstein registered a third broadside in the Stationers' Hall entitled: *An easy method of acquiring the reading of Arabic with the vowel-points. By an experienced teacher of oriental language.* It bears the same residence, printer, and publishers as the other prior broadside and refers to the Hebrew and Syriac tables heretofore published.

We next find Borrenstein in New York. There are three different publications, bearing date 1823 and published there. Each gives, however, a different address.

His chart on *An easy method of acquiring the reading of Hebrew with the vowel-points, according to the ancient practice. By an experienced teacher* states it is the first American edition from the second London. It was sold by J. Eastburn's Literary Rooms; John P. Haven's Theological Book-Store; E. Bliss & E. White, Broadway; and by T. & J. Swords, 99 Pearl Street. Borrenstein then gives his address as No. 11 Oak Street. It sold for 37½ cents. He appended this note:

> The publisher begs leave to acquaint the lovers and promoters of oriental literature, that he intends re-printing the Syriac and Arabic tables, should he receive previous subscriptions for an adequate number, to induce him to

incur the heavy expenses in procuring the type for them purposely. The arrangement and price will be the same as the Hebrew. As to material and content, the American edition is revised and further added to.

The border of the American edition is elaborate and typographically more of the printer's art than the English edition.

The second publication that Borrenstein published was *Elements of the Chaldee language, intended as a supplement to the Hebrew grammars, and as a general introduction to the Aramean dialects. By the Rev. William Harris,* LL.D. *professor of Hebrew in Hoxton Academy, Eng. New York: Published by D. A. Borrenstein, at 94 William Street. Sold at J. Eastburn's Literary Rooms; John P. Haven's Theological Book-Store: E. Bliss & E. White, Broadway; and by T. & J. Swords, 99 Pearl Street; and may be had through the medium of all other booksellers. 1823.*[5]

It will be noticed that Borrenstein has moved to a new address, but the sales agents were the same as for his Hebrew chart. Among the commendations were those of Clement C. Moore, then professor of Hebrew at the Episcopal Theological Seminary in New York, and the Rev. C. F. Frey, of whom we have spoken rather fully heretofore. The latter had just published his new edition of the Hebrew grammar, and they were printed in the same year by the same printer as Borrenstein's third volume: D. Fanshaw, printer, No. 1 Murray St.[6]

The third volume was entitled *Evangelical review of modern genius; or, Truth and error contrasted. By Mrs. Simon. "Holiness to the Lord." Zechariah, xiv. 20. New York, published and sold by D. A. Borrenstein, 280 Broadway; two doors south of Washington Hall. Sold, also, at John P. Haven's Theological Bookstore, 182 Broadway and D. Fanshaw, printer, No. 1 Murray Street. 1823.*

It was copyrighted in the Southern District of New York on December 22, 1823. The author, B. A. Simon, dedicates her

[5] Rosenbach, *An American Jewish bibliography* (1926), no. 239, p. 212.

[6] *Ibid.*, no. 238, p. 212.

work to "the American Society for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews," as an expression of attachment to that method which they recognize in promoting the spiritual welfare of the people of Israel, and devotes her profits to the aid of the Hebrew settlement. It is a book of poetry of authors such as Scott, Moore, Crabbe, Campbell, Byron, and then poems without titles.

Early in the spring of 1824, Borrenstein set up a rather elaborate printing establishment in Princeton, New Jersey. Dr. James W. Alexander mentions it as a novelty to Princeton children. In July our subject issued this notice on the back cover of a New Jersey Colonization Society pamphlet:

> The subscriber having established a Printing Office in this place, under the immediate patronage of the Literary Gentlemen who reside here, takes this opportunity of respectfully soliciting the favours of his friends and the public generally. He has furnished his Office with New and handsome Types, Etc; and ventures to assure those who may confide to him the printing of works of any description, that every effort and assiduity will be used by him to execute the typographical part with neatness and accuracy.
>
> D. A. Borrenstein
>
> Princeton, N.J.
> July 1824.

During his residency in Princeton, he embarked on many ventures in the newspaper field. Proposals were sent out for publishing a weekly paper to be called *Princeton religious and literary gazette*. It probably did not survive any length of time, as in April, 1825, he began another weekly, the *American journal of letters, Christianity and civil affairs*, edited by the Reverend Robert Gibson and published by T. Callaghan Gibson. Though well printed, its four quarto pages were too solid an intellectual diet of education, religion, and public affairs to win popularity. In January, 1826, it was succeeded by *American magazine of letters and Christianity*, a monthly octavo of 68 pages, excellently printed as usual, and containing more varied and general reading matter than its predecessor. Only four issues of this attrac-

tive-looking periodical seem to have been saved; indeed, it is doubtful if any more were published. Borrenstein then issued the *Biblical repertory*, which was later to become the famous *Princeton review*. The *Biblical repertory* was a quarterly containing a series of treatises and dissertations, principally in biblical literature. Dr. Charles Hodge of the Princeton Seminary was the originator of the plan. Borrenstein printed the first three volumes.

In 1826 a group of unnamed proprietors began the publication of the *New Jersey patriot*, a paper of four folio pages of five columns, and boasting the patronage of "a great number of the literary men of the state." His connections with this paper were short-lived.

One year later Borrenstein added a new periodical to his record, the *New Jersey Sabbath school journal*, which ran into at least a third year as the *New Jersey Sunday school journal*.

Newspapers and magazines by no means monopolized the activities of Borrenstein's press. In September, 1824, he commenced the issue of *A series of tracts on practical religion, consisting of selections from the works of various authors*. These little pamphlets were issued monthly, forming for the year 1824–25 a first volume of 296 pages and for 1825–26 a second volume of 295 pages. Among his undertakings were Baxter's *Call to the unconverted* (1826) and his *Saints' rest* (1827); Alleine's *Solemn warnings to the dead* (1826), which gloomy work went into a second edition in 1828; Hannah More's *Sacred dramas* (1826); and Grace Kennedy's *The decision, or, religion must be all, or is nothing* (1827); Saurin's *Sermons* in two volumes (1827) with a beautifully engraved portrait of the author by Durand. This book also has a printer's device on the title-page: the initials D. A. B. of entwined grapevine tendrils surrounded by a wreath of nondescript foliage. This is the only imprint found that contains such a device. This printing is also found in a large double volume under one binding.

The press also printed many addresses and sermons, annual reports for local societies, catalogues and programs, the catalogue of the Princeton Library Company (1825), special reprints, new editions of standard works like Alexander's *Outlines of the evidences of Christianity* and Paley's *Natural theology;* and when Mr. S. J. Bayard of Princeton brought to the office the manuscript of his narrative poem *Mengwe* (1825) he gave Mr. Borrenstein the chance to put forth his finest piece of printing.

The most interesting product of the press was, from an academic point of view, his edition of *Seven against Thebes* by Aeschylus, a first classical text to appear in Greek and to bear a Princeton imprint. It is one of the earliest American editions of the play. It was published "under the care and direction of the Senior Class of Nassau Hall." It is worthy of notice as a specimen of early Princeton typography and also as the fruitage of the first advanced classical work done by Princeton undergraduates. Professor Robert Bridges Patton supervised the preparation.

The Princeton Press also printed a lecture on *Classical and national education* by Professor Patton, which he delivered before the Literary and Philosophical Society of New Jersey.

Whatever one may think of the content of Borrenstein's publications, at least it must be acknowledged that in form his work is usually pleasing; but his judgment failed him in the German New Testament he printed in 1828. It is the most unattractive —as it is also one of the rarest—of his imprints. The copy in the Library of Princeton University is a duodecimo on bluish gray paper with mottled edges, producing an effect that is opposite of artistic. The plates were stereotyped in Philadelphia.

I have taken heavily information concerning Borrenstein's stay in Princeton from Mr. Collins' *Early Princeton printing*, with his kind permission. It is possible, however, to clear up the mystery about Borrenstein's sudden and silent dropping-out of Princeton's printing.

On April 25, 1828, Borrenstein, designated as a bookseller, made a promissory note to John Campbell, a stationer of New York, for $1,500. At the same time he executed a confession of judgment to Campbell for that amount and designated C. L. Hardenburgh of Somerville, New Jersey, as his attorney. James S. Nevius acted as attorney for Campbell. He recorded the confession of judgment, together with a warrant therefor, on May 8, 1828. It is set out verbatim in Book D, page 215, of Common Pleas, judgments for Somerset County in New Jersey. On the same day he issued an execution upon this judgment; and I. I. Gaston, sheriff of that county, levied

on lot of paper works in sheets, Watts Psalms and Hymns, sundry stock in books, book case and desk, lot binder and press boards, a quantity of type and printing apparatus, printing press, and sundry stands, forms, rollers, two stoves, etc.[7]

At the same time John MacLean, then vice-president of Princeton, issued an attachment sounding in debt against Borrenstein, covering

all the goods and chattels of David A. Borrenstein consisting of printing press, sundry types, paper and printing apparatus with sundry books practically complete in sheets, two stoves, writing desk, book case, sundry pamphlets, etc.

The printing of so many volumes must have involved Borrenstein in financial difficulties. He left behind his printing presses and types, for we find them being used by subsequent printers.

The MacLean correspondence in the Princeton Library furnishes the sequel to our biography. There are six letters from Borrenstein, five of which are dated May 9, 19, June 5, 6, and 17, 1828, and written from Philadelphia. The last bears no date except the indorsement: "D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton 1830."

Throughout these letters he expresses a feeling of bitterness and sorrow at the treatment he received from his creditors. "My feelings are too oppressed to write much" and "I felt my-

[7] *Minutes of the Common Pleas Court of Somerset County*, 1818–30.

self to be the unhappiest man in the world" are examples of his tale of woe. He repeatedly referred to their past friendship "in this extreme hour of need." He continually sought to obtain letters of recommendation from Professor MacLean and others, but they were reluctant to give them. At least the Professor did not inclose any in his letter to Borrenstein of June 10, 1828.

Mr. W. Stockton, the Princeton lawyer, took out a writ for his arrest in Philadelphia; and Borrenstein wrote that he could make no objections to returning to the College under the writ. However, I assume this plan was never carried out.

Borrenstein had an unbroken faith in his adopted religion. In the first letter he wrote: "I put my whole trust into the hands of Him above, whose unsearchable ways are past finding out" (May 9, 1828). Again he wrote, "with implicit reliance on the kind providence of the most High" (May 19, 1828):

> I have almost lived in seclusion, and with the exception of occasionally visiting Mr. H[owe], and attending public worship on Sunday, I am, as it were, separated from Society. In my solitary hours I find the bible the most acceptable companion whilst it points out to me the abundant goodness and mercy of a Gracious God to all who with a penitent and broken heart call on Him through the mediation of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus—I fervently pray that it may continue to be through life my companion and counsellor [June 5, 1828].
>
> The Lord, who in his wise purpose has thought proper thus to afflict me, I fervently trust will graciously support me under my accumulated troubles [June 17, 1828].

The printing shop must have been located in the College, for he asks the Professor not to enter into any lease with the purchaser. The purchaser at the attachment sale was a Captain S——, who obtained the title for little of its going value. Borrenstein claimed it should have brought at least $700–$800 at the sale, especially since he had spent over $300–$400 recently for repairs. Later, he made an unsuccessful effort to dispose of the Greek type in Philadelphia.

Our subject was out of a job and began to look about for em-

ployment. He busied himself at first with reading proof sheets of the German Bible then printed by Mr. J. Howe, who also stereotyped Borrenstein's edition (no. 78). They may have been the same volume, Mr. Howe permitting Borrenstein to imprint his name thereon. He then became an itinerant book vendor, peddling the German Bible through Pennsylvania.

The indorsement on the last letter, "Princeton, 1830," indicates that Borrenstein ventured back to the scene of his earlier triumphs as a printer, assuming the risk of imprisonment for debt. The letter itself is not dated. The handwriting seems that of a man who has aged since writing the letters of two years ago. He urgently requested Professor MacLean to grant him a consultation "this morning." Captain S—— utilized every available means to collect his due. Borrenstein describes him: "Like the hunter in the chase, he has completely destroyed his game."

I have included a reduced facsimile of Borrenstein's letter of June 5, 1828, to illustrate clearly the point previously made—that he was an educated, capable, and able man.

Thorough search discloses no further trace of Borrenstein until 1839, when his name appears on the title-page as the publisher of a small Bible printed in London that year. One glance at the fancy frontispiece recalls the same type of work done by him at Princeton. The New Testament of this volume was published by him at Glasgow in 1841. His address was St. Enoch Square. Andrew Moffat, Skinner Street, Snow Hill, London, was a copublisher. Andrew Shortrede, of Thistle Lane, Edinburgh, printed the volume. The Bible is 16 mo., 3 columns, and finely printed from plates. At that time Borrenstein was fifty-two years of age.

Through the courtesy of Mr. W. Beattie, keeper of printed books in the National Library of Scotland, additional information has come to hand. Two volumes sent to me from his own library by Mr. J. C. Ewing, of the Mitchell Library at Glasgow, add at least another year to the known life of David A.

Philadelphia June 5, 1828.

My dear Sir

I embrace this opportunity of discharging, what I conceive to be my duty, of writing to you — I am aware, that to advert to the unfortunate termination of my business, will avail no good, and may only tend to revive those painful sensations which that catastrophe could not fail to have occasioned to my numerous friends in Princeton — but more especially to you — who have taken such deep and peculiar interest in my welldoing — But, allow me, my dear friend, to unbosom to you the present state of my feelings — The displeasure and chastening hand of the Most High has evinced itself to me in a most powerful and effectual manner — Secluded and separated from friends and society, as I am at present situated — my mind, diverted from its former occupation — is now, as it were, wholly occupied with reflections of my past errors — The painful wealth of my predominant failing (though a common one in the busy world) namely, of manifesting a too great anxiety about the extension and improvement of business, even at the neglect of more important and weightier duties — is arrayed before me in so forcible a manner, not to make a lasting and salutary impression on my mind — it teaches a powerful and striking lesson, how transient and unsubstantial are the frail possessions of this world! — Though, I may say I have lost every thing, yet I trust that the experience bought thus dear, will not be without its comparative value to me — I trust that it will be a perpetual monitor, constantly pointing out the extreme danger of attending too much to the things which are earthly and

(Reduced from 8½×11 Inches)

uncertain, and neglecting those which are of infinitely greater importance that are heavenly — Since I have been in this city I have almost lived in seclusion, and with the exception of occasionally visiting Mr. H— and attending public worship on Sunday I am, as it were, separated from society — In my solitary hours I found the Bible the most acceptable companion — Whilst it points out to me the abundant goodness and mercy of a Gracious God to all who with a penitent and broken heart call on Him through the mediation of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus — I fervently pray that it may continue to be through life my companion and ~~———~~ counsellor

I am at present temporarily employed in reading the proof sheets of the German Bible for Mr. H— which will shortly be completed — It now becomes necessary for me to turn my attention to something for a suitable livelihood — I have as yet not determined upon anything — but I have some idea of making a tour through this state for the purpose of disposing of the German Bible among the German inhabitants — to which I have some prospects of encouragement — I now avail myself of your kind and very friendly offer, when I first left Princeton — of giving me a letter of recommendation whenever I should need it — I need hardly say that such a letter would now be of considerable service to me — one, testifying in general terms your knowledge of me, for the period that I have resided in Princeton, and your belief of my honest intentions in the unfortunate termination of my business, which I make free of repeating — as you have on ~~several~~ every occasion expressed yourself to the same effect, in the most unequivocal terms — In fact, a testimonial of this description is almost indispensable to my future usefulness in society as my character has suffered much from the slanderous reports which have been circulated — If you can obtain a

(Reduced from 8½×11 Inches)

few signatures to be added to yours, it will of course make it more acceptable — In whatever circumstances the Lord in his wise and beneficent providence may hereafter place me I trust that my future conduct will be such as to merit the goodwill of the citizens of Princeton (for whom, I assure you, I entertain, with few exceptions, the most sincere respect) but more especially do I trust that I shall continue to merit your inestimable friendship which I appreciate with the liveliest gratitude — I hope that the Lord has restored to health your afflicted mother — Remember me kindly to the whole of your dear family — I hope the first time you may be in the city you will give me an opportunity of having an interview with you —

I remain, my dear Sir —

Yours very truly

D. A. Borgenstein

P.S. Have the goodness to tell Mr. Fisk that I shall be glad if he will send the parcel about which I have written to him, as soon as possible — You will also oblige me by telling Mr. Isaac Baker that I will return the seal by Mr. Fisk the first time he should come to the city — as in fact I feel no pleasure in the ownership of it — he may send by that gentleman a gold key which he has of mine in lieu of it — Mr. Howe says that he will allow you $400 for the two presses (which on the whole I think a fair price) — he proposes to give you his two notes at 3 & 4 months, which I presume you will have no objection to — I hope I shall soon hear from you — I am somewhat curious to hear how the Captain is disposing of his printing plant — all does not appear to have proceeded from pure benevolence in that quarter !! — Please direct, (under cover) to J. Howe, Stereotype Founder, Phila.

B

(Reduced from 8½×11 Inches)

Borrenstein. At Glasgow in 1841 he published the complete works of Robert Burns, and reissued this volume in 1842.

The Glasgow directory for 1841–42 lists: "D. A. Borrenstein, publisher, 11 St. Enoch's Square." The directory for 1842–43, published in May or June, 1842, states: "Borrenstein & Neilson, publishers and bookbinders, 45 Candlerigg Street."

Where did he die? What is the end of the story? Perhaps another will take up the search and amplify his biography and the bibliography of his printing. A trip to England may some day lead to the end of the trail.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PRINTING OF DAVID A. BORRENSTEIN

Appended is a bibliography of Borrenstein's imprints. It is the result of four years of fascinating study. I have inquired at all sources where such information is available. Lined-off titles have been procured wherever possible. Others may find additions to the list. I shall be thankful for such information.

I desire to express my appreciation to Princeton University, and especially to Mr. Varnum Lansing Collins, its secretary, and Mr. James Thayer Gerould, its librarian, and to Mr. George Mann Peck, in charge of its treasure room; to Rutgers University; the Library of Congress; New York Historical Society; New Jersey State Historical Society; New York Public Library, especially Mr. Wilberforce Eames; the American Antiquarian Society; and the various organizations in London that so graciously sent me valuable information.

Abbreviations

AAS	American Antiquarian Society
HEHL	Henry E. Huntington Library
LC	Library of Congress
NJHS	New Jersey Historical Society
NYHS	New York Historical Society
NYPL	New York Public Library
PL	University of Princeton Library
PTL	Princeton Theological Seminary Library
RL	Rutgers University Library

1822

An easy method/of acquiring the/reading of Hebrew with the vowel-points,/according to the ancient practice./By an experienced teacher/This table will be found particularly useful and in private families for the instruction/of both sexes

London:/printed by A. Macintosh, 20, Great New Street,/for D. A. Borrenstein, 21, Great New Street, Fetter Lane./Sold by Ogle, Duncan, and Co., Paternoster Row; Hatchard & Son, Picadilly, London; Deighton and Son, Cambridge; and by/the booksellers of Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin./Entered at Stationers Hall, [February 12, 1822], 1260g (55) [1]

Folio broadside.
British Museum.

An easy method/of acquiring the/reading of Syriac with the vowel-points,/by an experienced teacher/of oriental languages./This sheet will be found particularly useful in schools and private families to familiarize youth of both sexes/to the character and correct reading of the syriac language, and may also serve as a convenient/table of experience.

London:/Printed by A. Macintosh, 20, Great New Street./for D. A. Borrenstein, 14, Upper North Place, Gray's Inn Road./Sold by Ogle, Duncan, & Co., 27, Paternoster Row, and 295, Holborn; and to be had of the booksellers in Cambridge,/Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, &c./1822/Entered at Stationers Hall, [December 13, 1822], 1260g (54) [2]

Folio broadside.
British Museum.

1823

An easy method/of acquiring the/reading of arabic with the vowel-points/By an experienced teacher/of oriental languages./This sheet will be found particularly useful in schools and private families to familiarize youth of both sexes/to the character and correct reading of the arabic language, and may also serve as a convenient/table of reference.

London:/Printed by A. Macintosh, 20, Great New Street,/for D. A. Borrenstein, 14, Upper North Place, Gray's Inn Road./Sold by Ogle, Duncan, & Co., 37, Paternoster Row, and 295, Holborn; and to be had

AN EASY METHOD

OF ACQUIRING THE

READING OF HEBREW WITH THE VOWEL-POINTS,

ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT PRACTICE.

BY AN EXPERIENCED TEACHER.

* THIS TABLE WILL BE FOUND PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN SCHOOLS AND IN PRIVATE FAMILIES FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES.

LESSON I.

DIFFERENT ALPHABETS IN USE AMONGST THE JEWS.

(Hebrew reads from right to left—The Alphabet consists of twenty-two letters, five of which assume a different form when at the end of a word.)

Number	Chaldee	Rabbinical	German Hebrew	Vowel	Pronunciation.
1	א	א°	א†	—	Aleph *
2	בּ ב	ב	ב	B	Beth
	ב	ב	ב	BH	Bheth
3	ג	ג	ג	G	Gimel
	ג	—	—	GH	Ghimel
4	ד	ד	ד	D	Daleth
	ד	—	—	DH	Dhaleth
5	ה	ה	ה	H	He
6	ו	ו	ו	V	Vau
7	ז	ז	ז	Z	Zayn
8	ח	ח	ח	CH	Cheth
9	ט	ט	ט	T	Teth
10	י	י	י	Y	Yod
	כ	כ	כ	C	Caph
20	כ	כ	כ	CH	Chaph
	ך	ך	ך	Do. final	Ditto
30	ל	ל	ל	L	Lamed
40	מ	מ	מ	M	Mem
	ם	ם	ם	Do. final	Ditto
50	נ	נ	נ	N	Noon
	ן	ן	ן	Do. final	Ditto
60	ס	ס	ס	S	Samech
70	ע	ע	ע	GN	Gnayin
	פ	פ	פ	P	Pe
80	פ	פ	פ	PH	Phe
	ף	ף	ף	Do. final	Ditto
90	צ	צ	צ	TZ	Tzaddi
	ץ	ץ	ץ	Do. final	Ditto
100	ק	ק	ק	K	Koph
200	ר	ר	ר	R	Resh
300	שׁ	שׁ	ש	SH	Shin
	שׂ	שׂ		S	Sau
400	ת	ת	ת	T	Tau
	ת	ת	ת	TH	Thau

The following letters nearly resemble each other in form.

בכ נג דר הח זן סס

* The Rabbinical Characters are called so as not to confound the Hebrew in the printing and in Manuscript. Except the letter Aleph, all in the 1st Number are called Hebrew.

† Except Hebrew, and amongst the Germans and Portuguese, each pointed as their respective Letters.

‡ Pronounced as NG at the end of a word.

LESSON II.

VOWEL-POINTS, &c.

The VOWELS are distinguished by small strokes and points, placed under, over or in the center of their respective letters. They are two in number, five long and five short—viz.

LONG.		SHORT.	
* Kametz.	a as Father.	* Pathach.	a as At.
* Chirik.	ee as Bee.	* Chirik.	i as Pin.
" Tzere.	a as Ale.	* Segol.	e as Bed.
ו Shurek	oo as Moon.	\ Kibbutz.	oo as Wood.
ׄ Cholem	o as in Cold.	* Kametz-chatuph.	o as Bone.

COMPOUNDED-VOWELS.

* Chatuph-Kametz ◌ֳ | * Chatuph-Pathach ◌ֲ | * Chatuph-Segol ◌ֱ

These are generally placed under א ה ח ע instead of a single (◌) to facilitate their pronunciation

RULES.

I. THE letter Aleph having no corresponding sound in our language, is therefore universally sounded according to the Vowel sound by which it is accompanied as אַ—A, as French; אָ—A, as English; אֹ—O, &c.

II The Consonants are pronounced before the Vowels as בָּ ba; בֹּ bo; בַּב bab, בָּ be, except ע ח ה at the end of a word with Pathach; as which saw the Vowel Pathach is pronounced before the Consonant as חַ ah; עַ ang.

III The Cholem is often placed over Vau, thus וֹ, but in that case ו is not pronounced, only the Cholem with the foregoing Consonant. For instance, לֹו lo; דֹּו do, &c.

IV Shurek is always placed in the middle of the letter Vau, thus וּ; and like the former Vau remains quiescent: as לוּז loo; לוּז poo, &c.

V A Consonant without a Vowel is joined with the foregoing Consonant as, דֹּם dom; קוֹם koom; except these four letters א ה ו י, which are never pronounced without a Vowel. Vau after Kametz, Pathach, Cholem and Shurek, forms a diphthong as קָו kai; בָּו boy; גָּוי goy. לוּי lui.

VI. There is another Vowel-point, thus (׳) called Sirah, which is very short at the beginning of a Syllable, as בְּרֵאשִׁית bree; but remains quiescent when at the end of it, as אֶת et; &c.

VII. These six letters ב ג ד כ פ ת have sometimes a dot in the center, called Dagesh, which alters the pronunciation as may be seen from the preceding Columns.

VIII. Every other letter, including the above six, (except א ה ח ע ר) will occasionally have a Dagesh, (when not at the beginning of a Syllable,) which Dagesh causes that letter to be pronounced double, as לְמֻדִּי learned, גְּבִיר gibbir, מְלֶכֶת melekeh.

IX. The dot in ה is called Mappik, and it is used to give a stronger aspiration to that letter.

LESSON III.

LETTERS AND VOWEL-POINTS, WITH THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION.

תּ	שׁ	שׂ	ר	ק	צ	ץ	פּ	ף	ע	ס	ן	נ	מ	ם	ל	כּ	כ	ך	י	ט	ח	ז	ו	ה	ד	ג	ב	בּ	א		
ta	sha	sa	ra	ka	tza	tz	pa	pha	ga	sa	na	n	ma	m	la	ca	cha	ch	ya	ta	cha	za	va	ha	da	ga	ba	bha	a		a long, as in *Father*.
תַ	שַׁ	שַׂ	רַ	קַ	צַ	ץַ	פַּ	ף	עַ	סַ	ן	נַ	מַ	ם	לַ	כַּ	כַ	ך	יַ	טַ	חַ	זַ	וַ	הַ	דַ	גַ	בַ	בַּ	אַ		
ta	sha	sa	ra	ka	tza	tz	pa	pha	ga	sa	na	n	ma	m	la	ca	cha	ch	ya	ta	cha	za	va	ha	da	ga	ba	bha	a		a short, as in *Ale*.
תֵ	שֵׁ	שֵׂ	רֵ	קֵ	צֵ	ץֵ	פֵּ	ף	עֵ	סֵ	ן	נֵ	מֵ	ם	לֵ	כֵּ	כֵ	ך	יֵ	טֵ	חֵ	זֵ	וֵ	הֵ	דֵ	גֵ	בֵ	בֵּ	אֵ		
tay	shay	say	ray	kay	tzay	tz	pay	pha	gay	say	nay	n	may	m	lay	cay	chay	ch	yay	tay	chay	zay	vay	hay	day	gay	bay	bhay	ay		a—e—a—as in *Able*.
תֶ	שֶׁ	שֶׂ	רֶ	קֶ	צֶ	ץֶ	פֶּ	ף	עֶ	סֶ	ן	נֶ	מֶ	ם	לֶ	כֶּ	כֶ	ך	יֶ	טֶ	חֶ	זֶ	וֶ	הֶ	דֶ	גֶ	בֶ	בֶּ	אֶ		
te	she	se	re	ke	tze	tz	pe	phe	ge	se	ne	n	me	m	le	ce	che	ch	ye	te	che	ze	ve	he	de	ge	be	bhe	e		e—a short, as in *Bell*.
תִ	שִׁ	שִׂ	רִ	קִ	צִ	ץִ	פִּ	ף	עִ	סִ	ן	נִ	מִ	ם	לִ	כִּ	כִ	ך	יִ	טִ	חִ	זִ	וִ	הִ	דִ	גִ	בִ	בִּ	אִ		
tee	shee	see	ree	kee	tzee	tz	pee	phe	gee	see	nee	n	mee	m	lee	cee	chee	ch	yee	tee	chee	zee	vee	hee	dee	gee	bee	bhee	ee		ee—e long, as in *Bee*.
תִי	שִׁי	שִׂי	רִי	קִי	צִי	ץִי	פִּי	ף	עִי	סִי	ן	נִי	מִי	ם	לִי	כִּי	כִי	ך	יִי	טִי	חִי	זִי	וִי	הִי	דִי	גִי	בִי	בִּי	אִי		
tee	shee	see	ree	kee	tzee	tz	pee	phe	gee	see	nee	n	mee	m	lee	cee	chee	ch	yee	tee	chee	zee	vee	hee	dee	gee	bee	bhee	ee		ee—e long, as in *Bee*.
תֹ	שֹׁ	שֹׂ	רֹ	קֹ	צֹ	ץֹ	פֹּ	ף	עֹ	סֹ	ן	נֹ	מֹ	ם	לֹ	כֹּ	כֹ	ך	יֹ	טֹ	חֹ	זֹ	וֹ	הֹ	דֹ	גֹ	בֹ	בֹּ	אֹ		
to	sho	so	ro	ko	tzo	tz	po	pho	go	so	no	n	mo	m	lo	co	cho	ch	yo	to	cho	zo	vo	ho	do	go	bo	bho	o		o—o long, as in *Cold*.
תֹ	שֹׁ	שֹׂ	רֹ	קֹ	צֹ	ץֹ	פֹּ	ף	עֹ	סֹ	ן	נֹ	מֹ	ם	לֹ	כֹּ	כֹ	ך	יֹ	טֹ	חֹ	זֹ	וֹ	הֹ	דֹ	גֹ	בֹ	בֹּ	אֹ		
to	sho	so	ro	ko	tzo	tz	po	pho	go	so	no	n	mo	m	lo	co	cho	ch	yo	to	cho	zo	vo	ho	do	go	bo	bho	o		o—o short, as in *Son*.
תּוּ	שׁוּ	שׂוּ	רוּ	קוּ	צוּ	ץוּ	פּוּ	ף	עוּ	סוּ	ן	נוּ	מוּ	ם	לוּ	כּוּ	כוּ	ך	יוּ	טוּ	חוּ	זוּ	וּ	הוּ	דוּ	גוּ	בוּ	בּוּ	אוּ		
too	shoo	soo	roo	koo	tzoo	tz	poo	pho	goo	soo	noo	n	moo	m	loo	coo	choo	ch	yoo	too	choo	zoo	voo	hoo	doo	goo	boo	bhoo	oo		oo—oo, - - as in *Moon*.
תְ	שְׁ	שְׂ	רְ	קְ	צְ	ץְ	פְּ	ף	עְ	סְ	ן	נְ	מְ	ם	לְ	כְּ	כְ	ך	יְ	טְ	חְ	זְ	וְ	הְ	דְ	גְ	בְ	בְּ	אְ		
t	sh	s	r	k	tz	tz	p	ph	g	s	n	n	m	m	l	c	ch	ch	y	t	ch	z	v	h	d	g	b	bh			o - - as in *Wood*.

London:

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FOR D. A. BORRENSTEIN, 21, GREAT NEW STREET, FETTER LANE.

SOLD BY GALE, DURDAN, AND CO. PATERNOSTER ROW; HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY, LONDON; DEIGHTON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE; AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS OF OXFORD, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND DUBLIN.

☞ *Similar Tables are also in the course of publication in the Syriac and Arabic Languages: and a concise Grammar, divided into Easy Lessons, each Lesson comprised in a separate Table, in the three Languages, is likewise preparing for the Press.* Feb. 1822.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE.] [Entered at Stationers' Hall.

No. 1 (Reduced)

AN EASY METHOD

OF ACQUIRING THE

READING OF SYRIAC WITH THE VOWEL-POINTS.

BY AN EXPERIENCED TEACHER

Of Oriental Languages.

THIS SHEET WILL BE FOUND PARTICULARLY USEFUL IN SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE FAMILIES TO FAMILIARIZE YOUTH OF BOTH SEXES TO THE CHARACTER AND CORRECT READING OF THE SYRIAC LANGUAGE, AND MAY ALSO SERVE AS A CONVENIENT TABLE OF REFERENCE.

LESSON I.

THE ALPHABET.

Syriac is read from right to left.—The Alphabet consists of twenty-two Letters, some of which assume a different form when placed in the middle or at the end of a word.

Number.	Trials.	Medials.	Initials.	Sound.	Pronunciation.
1	ܐ ܐ	ـܐـ	ܐ	—	Oleph
2	ܒ ـܒ	ـܒـ	ܒ	B	Beth
	ـܒ			BH	Bheth
3	ܓ ـܓ	ـܓـ	ܓ	G	Gomel
	ـܓ			GH	Ghomel
4	ܕ ـܕ	ـܕـ	ܕ	D	Doleth
	ـܕ			DH	Dholeth
5	ܗ ـܗ	ـܗـ	ܗ	H	Hey
6	ܘ ـܘ	ـܘـ	ܘ	V	Vau
7	ܙ ـܙ	ـܙـ	ܙ	Z	Zay
8	ܚ ـܚ	ـܚـ	ܚ	CH	Cheth
9	ܛ ـܛ	ـܛـ	ܛ	T	Teth
10	ܝ ـܝ	ـܝـ	ܝ	Y	Yod
20	ܟ ـܟ	ـܟـ	ܟ	C	Coph
	ـܟ			CH	Choph
30	ܠ ـܠ	ـܠـ	ܠ	L	Lomed
40	ܡ ـܡ	ـܡـ	ܡ	M	Mem
50	ܢ ـܢ	ـܢـ	ܢ	N	Nun
60	ܣ ـܣ	ـܣـ	ܣ	S	Samchat
70	ܥ ـܥ	ـܥـ	ܥ	—	Oin
80	ܦ ـܦ	ـܦـ	ܦ	P	Pey
	ـܦ			PH	Phey
90	ܨ ـܨ	ـܨـ	ܨ	TS	Trade
100	ܩ ـܩ	ـܩـ	ܩ	K	Kuph
200	ܪ ـܪ	ـܪـ	ܪ	R	Rish
300	ܫ ـܫ	ـܫـ	ܫ	SH	Shin
400	ܬ ـܬ	ـܬـ	ܬ	T	Tau
	ـܬ			TH	Thau

COMPOUND-LETTERS.

ܐ AI. | ܠ LA | ܐ LA | ܠ LL

N.B. A Mark, thus (˙), under any letter, denotes that that letter is not pronounced.—Proper Names are to be read as Greek. Were we to attempt to assign precise rules, rather and examples and [illegible] we should be entangled in more grammatical difficulties than we could easily solve. In the above [illegible] the beginner to pay [illegible]

LESSON II.

VOWEL-POINTS, &c.

As a substitute for the VOWELS, certain Points or Marks have been introduced. They are ten in number; namely, five Ancient and five Modern, which answer to the five Vowels, A, E, I, O, U, and are commonly pronounced as those Vowels are in the German Language: viz.

Ancient.	Modern.	Name.	Pronounced
◌ܰ	◌	PETOCHO.	*A* as in *Father*.
◌ܲ	◌	REBOTSO.	*E* as in *Bed*.
◌ܺ	◌	CHBOSYO.	*EE* as in *See*.
◌ܴ	◌	ZEKOPHO.	*O* as in *Don*.
◌ܼ	◌	OTSOTSO.	*OO* as in *Moon*.

* These strokes are intended to distinguish the Points above from those below the letter.

DIPHTHONGS.

ܰܝ ܲܝ ܺܝ ܴܘ ܼܘ

RULES.

I. THE letters Oleph and Ooo are pronounced according to the Vowels by which they are accompanied: as ◌ܰ *A*, ◌ܲ *E*, ◌ܺ *EE*, ◌ܴ *O*, ◌ܼ *OO*.

II. Oleph is sometimes quiescent at the beginning of a word: as إِيمَا *Chrcenah*; إِنْشَا *Noshah*.

III. When two Olephs follow each other, the second is pronounced like Yod: as ܐܐ *Oyar*.

IV. Sometimes Oleph in the middle of a word is likewise pronounced like Yod: as ܟܳܝܳܐ *Koyeo*.

V. Yod at the beginning of a word, with the Vowel-point Chebotso ◌ܺ is pronounced like ◌ܺ; as ◌ܺ *Eleph*.

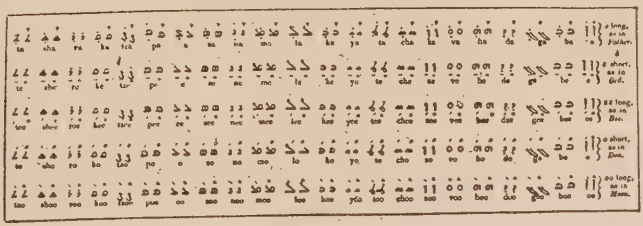
VI. The Consonant is always pronounced before the Vowel, as ◌ܒ *Bee*; ◌ܕ *Dee*.

VII. A Consonant without any Vowel is to be pronounced like a Consonant with Shvah in Hebrew; namely, when at the beginning of a word or syllable, the Consonant is joined to the following syllable, but when at the end, it must be joined with the foregoing syllable; as ◌ܰ◌ܲ◌ܬ◌ܺ◌ܒ◌ܼ◌ܐ ◌ܰ◌ܲ◌ܬ◌ܺ◌ܒ◌ܼ◌ܐ *Ebeth-ooo*; ◌ܬ◌ܰ◌ܡ◌ܲ◌ܢ ◌ܬ◌ܰ◌ܡ◌ܲ◌ܢ *Chon*.

VIII. The six letters ◌ܒ◌ܓ◌ܕ◌ܟ◌ܦ◌ܬ do not admit what is called in Hebrew a double Dagesh, but they admit of a single Dagesh, which is marked by placing a dot over the letter; and that letter is then called Aksho, meaning hard in its pronunciation; but when a dot is under the letter, it is called Rokoch, meaning soft in its pronunciation. (See Lesson I.)

LESSON III.

LETTERS AND VOWEL-POINTS, WITH THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION.



London:

Printed by A. Macintosh, 10, Great New Street,

FOR D. A. BORRENSTEIN, 14, UPPER NORTH PLACE, GRAYS INN ROAD.

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1822.

N. B. Tables in the Hebrew and Arabic Languages, similar to the present, are also Published, and may be had of Messrs. Ogle, Duncan & Co. London; and of the Booksellers of the different Universities, &c. &c.

PRICE ONE SHILLING AND SIX PENCE.]

[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.

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LESSON I.

THE ALPHABET.

Arabic is read from right to left.—The Alphabet consists of twenty-eight Letters, some of which assume a different form when placed in the middle of a word, and others both in the middle and at the end of a word. The same Letters are also used as Numerals; and according to the present order of the Arabic Alphabet, but rather according to the order of the Hebrew Alphabet. Independently of these Letters they also use Cyphers, similar to our own.

Numbers.	Finals.	Medials.	Initials.	Sound.	Pronunciation.
1	ـا ـأ	ـا	ا أ	—	Aleph
2	ـب	ـبـ	بـ	B	Be
400	ـت	ـتـ	تـ	T	Te
500	ـث	ـثـ	ثـ	TH	The
3	ـج	ـجـ	جـ	G	Gim
8	ـح	ـحـ	حـ	HH	Hha
600	ـخ	ـخـ	خـ	CH	Cha
4	ـد	ـد	د	D	Dal
700	ـذ	ـذ	ذ	DZ	Dzal
200	ـر	ـر	ر	R	Re
7	ـز	ـز	ز	Z	Ze
60	ـس	ـسـ	سـ	S	Sin
300	ـش	ـشـ	شـ	SH	Shin
90	ـص	ـصـ	صـ	TS	Tsad
800	ـض	ـضـ	ضـ	DH	Dhad
9	ـط	ـطـ	طـ	T	Ta
900	ـظ	ـظـ	ظـ	DZ	Dza
70	ـع	ـعـ	عـ	`	Ain
1000	ـغ	ـغـ	غـ	Gain	
80	ـف	ـفـ	فـ	F	Fe
100	ـق	ـقـ	قـ	K	Kaf
20	ـك	ـكـ	كـ	C	Kef
30	ـل	ـلـ	لـ	L	Lam
40	ـم	ـمـ	مـ	M	Mim
50	ـن	ـنـ	نـ	N	Nun
5	ـه	ـهـ	هـ	H	He
6	ـو	ـو	و	V	Vau
10	ـي	ـيـ	يـ	Y Consonant.	Ye

* Pronounced like ץ in Hebrew.
† Like ץ in Heb. or the CH in German.
‡ Like G general in German.

LESSON II.

VOWEL-POINTS, &c.

As substitutes for Vowels, the Arabians use three Marks, two of which are placed over the Consonant and one under it; viz.

	Name.	Pronounced.
بَ	*Phtahh*	*A* as in *Father*.
	Sometimes	*A* as in *Ale*.
بِ	*Kesre*	*E* as in *Be*.
	Sometimes	*E* as in *Bell*.
بُ	*Dsamma*	*OO* as in *Moon*.
	Sometimes	*O* as in *Ore*.

These Vowels become somewhat lengthened when followed by ا, ى, or ا without a Vowel; namely, ا after Phtahh, as در in *Aaron*; ى after Kesre, as سى in *Isaac*; ى after Dsamma, as ثو in *hole*; but when ى is preceded by Phtahh, it constitutes a Diphthong, and sounds like *ow*, as قَوْم *Kaumon*; as does also ى after Phtahh, sounding like *ai*, as بَيْت *Baitun*.

NUNNATION.

The above three Vowel-points are sometimes at the end of a Noun sounded as if followed by *N*, and assume the following form;

ـً *an*, ـٍ *in*, ـٌ *on*.

For the sake of insuring a still more precise mode of reading, the Arabians use five other marks, which are:

ـٓ *Mamen.*—This is placed: 1. over ا to denote that it is an original letter, and has not been placed here for ى or ى; 2. over ى and ى when they have been interchanged with ا. 3. where ا is omitted.

ـّ *Medde.*—This is used: 1. to lengthen the Syllable; 2. to denote that the letter over which it is placed is an abbreviation; 3. where the letter is used as a Numeral.

ـْ *Gezu.*—This is of the same import as the quiescent Sheveh in Hebrew, so that the consonant over which it is placed, is to be joined to the foregoing Syllable.

ـٰ *Fatfa.*—This Mark connects the last Syllable of a word with the first of the following.

ـّ *Tesdid.*—This Mark denotes, that the letter over which it is placed is to be doubled, the same as the Dagesh forte in Hebrew.

A Consonant is invariably pronounced before the Vowel.

CONTRACTED LETTERS:—ﻻ ﻷ *Lam-Aleph.*

LESSON III.

LETTERS AND VOWEL-POINTS, WITH THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION.

ـَ ـِ ـُ ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ي	*a* as in *Father*.
ـَ ـِ ـُ ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ي	*e* as in *Be*.
ـَ ـِ ـُ ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ك ل م ن ه و ي	*oo* as in *Moon*.

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No. 3 (Reduced)

AN EASY METHOD
OF
Acquiring the Reading of Hebrew with the Vowel-Points,
ACCORDING TO THE ANCIENT PRACTICE.

BY AN EXPERIENCED TEACHER.

THIS TABLE WILL BE FOUND PARTICULARLY CALCULATED TO FAMILIARIZE THOSE WHO ARE ENTIRELY UNACQUAINTED WITH THE HEBREW, TO THE CHARACTER AND METHOD OF READING CORRECTLY; AND THE YOUNG STUDENT WILL THUS FIND CONSIDERABLE AID IN THE PURSUIT OF THE SACRED LANGUAGE.

Lesson 1.

DIFFERENT ALPHABETS IN USE AMONGST THE JEWS.

[*Hebrew reads from right to left.—The Alphabet consists of twenty-two Letters, five of which assume a different form when at the end of a word.*]

Number	Hebrew.	Rabbinical.*	German Hebrew.†	Germ. Pols. Manuscript.‡	Sound.	Pronunciation.
1	א	א	א	א	—	Aleph
2	בּ ב	ב	בּ ב	ב	B	Beth
					BH	Bheth
3	גּ ג	ג	גּ ג	ג	G	Gimel
					GH	Ghimel
4	דּ ד	ד	דּ ד	ד	D	Daleth
					DH	Dhaleth
5	ה	ה	ה	ה	H	He
6	ו	ו	ו	ו	V	Vau
7	ז	ז	ז	ז	Z	Zayin
8	ח	ח	ח	ח	CH	Cheth
9	ט	ט	ט	ט	T	Teth
10	י	י	י	י	Y	Yod
20	כּ כ	כ	כּ כ	כ	C	Caph
					CH	Chaph
30	לּ ל	ל	לּ ל	ל	L	Lamed
40	מּ מ	מ	מּ מ	מ	M	Mem
					M Final	Mem
50	נּ נ	נ	נּ נ	נ	N	Nun
					N Final	Nun
60	ס	ס	ס	ס	S	Samech
70	ע	ע	ע	ע	GHN	Gnayn
80	פּ פ	פ	פּ פ	פ	P	Pe
					PH	Phe
					PH Final	Phe
90	צּ צ	צ	צּ צ	צ	TZ	Tzadde
					TZ Final	Tzadde
100	ק	ק	ק	ק	K	Ko h
200	רּ ר	ר	רּ ר	ר	R	Reish

The Rabbinical Character, so called, from its use amongst the Rabbins, both in printing and in manuscript, though the latter is chiefly confined to the Portuguese and Eastern Jews.

† German Hebrew, used amongst the German and Polish Jews, in works printed in their vernacular tongues.

‡ The German Hebrew MS. Characters are used by *all* the Jews in transcribing Hebrew works, or in correspondence with each other, even in the *German language*; and will serve as a key to trace their various writings.

§ Pronounced as no at the end of a word.

Lesson 2.

VOWEL-POINTS, &c.

The VOWELS are distinguished in Hebrew, by small strokes and points, placed under, over, or in the corner of their respective letters. They are ten in number; five long and five short:—viz.

LONG.		SHORT.	
ָ Kametz,	*as* A in Father.	ַ Pathach,	*as* A in At.
ִ Chirik,	— EE in Bee.	ִ Chirick,	— I in Pin.
ֵ Tzere,	— A in Ale.	ֶ Segol,	— E in Bed.
ׂ Shurek,	— OO in Moon.	ֻ Kibbutz,	— OO in Wood.
ֹ Cholem,	— O in Cold.	ָ Kametz-chatoph,	— O in Son.

COMPOUND-VOWELS.

(*Pronounced extremely short*)

ֳ Chatuph-Kametz *o* ‖ ֲ Chatuph-Pathach *a* ‖ ֱ Chatuph-Segol *e*

These are generally placed under א ה ח ע, instead of a single (֫) to facilitate their pronunciation.

RULES.

I. The letter Aleph having no corresponding sound in our language, is, therefore, universally used according to the Vowel-point by which it is accompanied, thus: אָ *as* A in French; אַ *as* A in English; אֹ *as* O, &c.

II. The Consonants are pronounced before the Vowels: as, בָּ *ba*; בֹ *bo*; בֵ *bee*; בְ *be*; except ב ה ח ע occur at the end of a word with Pathach; in which case the Vowel Pathach is pronounced before the Consonant, as, הַ *ah*; חַ *ach*; עַ *ang*.

III. The Cholem is often without a ו, as לֹא *lo*; and when it has a ו, the ו is not pronounced, but only the Cholem with the foregoing Consonant, as for instance: גֹו *go*; דֹו *do*; &c.

IV. Shurek is always placed in the middle of the letter Vau: thus, וּ, and, like the former Vau remains quiescent: as, כּוֹל *soo*; כּוּל *poo*; &c.

V. A Consonant without a Vowel is joined with the foregoing Consonant; as, דֹום *dom*; כֹוס *koom*; except these four letters, ו ה א ר, which are never pronounced without a Vowel. Yod after Kametz, Pathach, Cholem and Shurek, forms a diphthong: as, קַי *kai*; בַּי *by*; גַּי *gay*; לֵי *lai*.

VI. There is another Vowel-point, thus (ְ), called Shvah, which is very short and is sometimes sounded as *a* or *e* in the centre, called

The letters ב ג ד כ פ ת

Dagesh, which alters the pronunciation, as may be seen from the preceding columns.

VIII. Every other letter, including the above six, (except ר ת ח ע ה ו) will occasionally have a Dagesh, (when not at the beginning of a syllable,) which Dagesh causes that letter to be pronounced double; as, לְמֹר *lamed*; גְּדֹל *giddol*; מְקֻשָּׁר *mekhasser*.

IX. The dot in ה is called *Mappik*, and it is used to give a stronger aspiration to that letter.

The following letters nearly resemble each other in form.

ב כ ג נ ד ר ה ח ז ן ס

Lesson 3.

LETTERS AND VOWEL POINTS, WITH THE TRUE PRONUNCIATION.

תָּ	שָׁ	שָׂ	רָ	קָ	צָ	פָּ	עָ	סָ	נָ	מָ	לָ	כָּ	יָ	טָ	חָ	זָ	וָ	הָ	דָ	גָ	בָּ	אָ
ta	sa	sha	ra	ka	tza	pa	gna	sa	na	ma	la	ca	ya	ta	cha	za	va	ha	da	ga	ba	a
תַ	שַׁ	שַׂ	רַ	קַ	צַ	פַּ	עַ	סַ	נַ	מַ	לַ	כַּ	יַ	טַ	חַ	זַ	וַ	הַ	דַ	גַ	בַּ	אַ
ta	sa	sha	ra	ka	tza	pa	gna	sa	na	ma	la	ca	ya	ta	cha	za	va	ha	da	ga	ba	a
תֵי	שֵׁי	שֵׂי	רֵי	קֵי	צֵי	פֵּי	עֵי	סֵי	נֵי	מֵי	לֵי	כֵּי	יֵי	טֵי	חֵי	זֵי	וֵי	הֵי	דֵי	גֵי	בֵּי	אֵי
tay	say	shay	ray	kay	tzay	pay	gnay	zay	nay	may	lay	cay	yay	tay	chay	zay	vay	hay	day	gay	bay	ay
תֶ	שֶׁ	שֶׂ	רֶ	קֶ	צֶ	פֶּ	עֶ	סֶ	נֶ	מֶ	לֶ	כֶּ	יֶ	טֶ	חֶ	זֶ	וֶ	הֶ	דֶ	גֶ	בֶּ	אֶ
te	se	she	re	ke	tze	pe	gne	se	ne	me	le	ke	ye	te	che	ze	ve	he	de	ge	be	e
תֵי	שֵׁי	שֵׂי	רֵי	קֵי	צֵי	פֵּי	עֵי	סֵי	נֵי	מֵי	לֵי	כֵּי	יֵי	טֵי	חֵי	זֵי	וֵי	הֵי	דֵי	גֵי	בֵּי	אֵי
tee	see	shee	ree	kee	ttee	pee	gnee	see	nee	mee	lee	kee	yee	tee	chee	zee	vee	hee	dee	gee	bee	ee
תִ	שִׁ	שִׂ	רִ	קִ	צִ	פִּ	עִ	סִ	נִ	מִ	לִ	כִּ	יִ	טִ	חִ	זִ	וִ	הִ	דִ	גִ	בִּ	אִ
ti	si	shi	ri	ki	tzi	pi	gni	si	ni	mi	li	ki	yi	ti	chi	zi	vi	hi	di	gi	bi	i
תֹ	שֹׁ	שֹׂ	רֹ	קֹ	צֹ	פֹּ	עֹ	סֹ	נֹ	מֹ	לֹ	כֹּ	יֹ	טֹ	חֹ	זֹ	וֹ	הֹ	דֹ	גֹ	בֹּ	אֹ
to	so *or* sho	sho	ro	ko	tzo	po	gno	so	no	mo	lo	ko	yo	to	cho	zo	vo	ho	do	go	bo	o
תוֹ	שׁוֹ	שׂוֹ	רוֹ	קוֹ	צוֹ	פוֹ	עוֹ	סוֹ	נוֹ	מוֹ	לוֹ	כוֹ	יוֹ	טוֹ	חוֹ	זוֹ	וֹו	הוֹ	דוֹ	גוֹ	בוֹ	אוֹ
to	so	sho	ro	ko	tzo	po	gno	so	no	mo	lo	ko	yo	to	cho	zo	vo	ho	do	go	bo	o
תוּ	שׁוּ	שׂוּ	רוּ	קוּ	צוּ	פוּ	עוּ	סוּ	נוּ	מוּ	לוּ	כוּ	יוּ	טוּ	חוּ	זוּ	וּו	הוּ	דוּ	גוּ	בוּ	אוּ
too	soo	shoo	roo	koo	ttoo	poo	gnoo	soo	noo	moo	loo	koo	yoo	too	choo	zoo	voo	hoo	doo	goo	boo	oo
תּ	שּׁ	שּׂ	רּ	קּ	צּ	פּ	עּ	סּ	נּ	מּ	לּ	כּ	יּ	טּ	חּ	זּ	וּ	הּ	דּ	גּ	בּ	אּ
too	soo	shoo	roo	koo	ttoo	poo	gnoo	soo	noo	moo	loo	koo	yoo	too	choo	zoo	voo	hoo	doo	goo	boo	oo

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No. 4 (REDUCED)

PARADIGM OF A REGULAR VERB.

	Persons.	I. Piel or Kal.	II. Ithpeal.	III. Pael.	IV. Ithpael.	V. Aphel.	VI. Ittaphel.
Preterite.	He.	קַטַל (ֲ)	אִתְקְטַל (ַ)	קַטַל (ַ)	אִתְקְטַל (ַ)	אַקְטַל ( )	אִתַּקְטַל
	She.	קְטַלַת	אִתְקְטַלַת	קַטְּלַת	אִתְקְטַלַת	אַקְטְלַת	אִתַּקְטַלַת
	Thou, m.	קְטַלְתָּ	אִתְקְטַלְתָּ	קַטַּלְתָּ	אִתְקְטַלְתָּ	אַקְטַלְתָּ	אִתַּקְטַלְתָּ
	Thou, f.	קְטַלְתְּ	אִתְקְטַלְתְּ	קַטַּלְתְּ	אִתְקְטַלְתְּ	אַקְטַלְתְּ	אִתַּקְטַלְתְּ
	I.	קְטַלְתִּי	אִתְקְטַלְתִּי	קַטַּלְתִּי	אִתְקְטַלְתִּי	אַקְטַלְתִּי	אִתַּקְטַלְתִּי
	They, m.	קְטַלוּ	אִתְקְטַלוּ	קַטְּלוּ	אִתְקְטַלוּ	אַקְטְלוּ	אִתַּקְטְלוּ
	They, f.	קְטַלָא	אִתְקְטַלָא	קַטְּלָא	אִתְקְטַלָא	אַקְטְלָא	אִתַּקְטְלָא
	You, m.	קְטַלְתּוֹן	אִתְקְטַלְתּוֹן	קַטַּלְתּוֹן	אִתְקְטַלְתּוֹן	אַקְטַלְתּוֹן	אִתַּקְטַלְתּוֹן
	You, f.	קְטַלְתֵּן	אִתְקְטַלְתֵּן	קַטַּלְתֵּן	אִתְקְטַלְתֵּן	אַקְטַלְתֵּן	אִתַּקְטַלְתֵּן
	We.	קְטַלְנָא	אִתְקְטַלְנָא	קַטַּלְנָא	אִתְקְטַלְנָא	אַקְטַלְנָא	אִתַּקְטַלְנָא
Imperative.	Thou, m.	קְטַל	אִתְקְטַל	קַטֵּל	אִתְקְטַל	אַקְטֵל	אִתַּקְטַל
	Thou, f.	קְטָלִי	אִתְקְטָלִי	קַטָּלִי (ָ)	אִתְקְטָלִי	אַקְטָלִי	אִתַּקְטָלִי
	You, m.	קְטָלוּ	אִתְקְטָלוּ	קַטָּלוּ	אִתְקְטָלוּ	אַקְטָלוּ	אִתַּקְטָלוּ
	You, f.	קְטָלְנָא	אִתְקְטָלְנָא	קַטָּלְנָא	אִתְקְטָלְנָא	אַקְטָלְנָא	אִתַּקְטָלְנָא

Future.	I.	אֶקְטֹל	אֶתְקְטַל	אֲקַטֵּל	אֶתְקַטַּל	אַקְטֵל	אֶתְקַטַּל
	Thou, m.	תִּקְטֹל	תִּתְקְטַל	תְּקַטֵּל	תִּתְקַטַּל	תַּקְטֵל	תִּתְקַטַּל
	Thou, f.	תִּקְטְלִין	תִּתְקְטַלִין	תְּקַטְּלִין	תִּתְקַטְּלִין	תַּקְטְלִין	תִּתְקַטְּלִין
	He.	יִקְטֹל	יִתְקְטַל	יְקַטֵּל	יִתְקַטַּל	יַקְטֵל	יִתְקַטַּל
	She.	תִּקְטֹל	תִּתְקְטַל	תְּקַטֵּל	תִּתְקַטַּל	תַּקְטֵל	תִּתְקַטַּל
	We.	נִקְטֹל	נִתְקְטַל	נְקַטֵּל	נִתְקַטַּל	נַקְטֵל	נִתְקַטַּל
	You, m.	תִּקְטְלוּן	תִּתְקְטַלוּן	תְּקַטְּלוּן	תִּתְקַטְּלוּן	תַּקְטְלוּן	תִּתְקַטְּלוּן
	You, f.	תִּקְטְלָן	תִּתְקְטַלָן	תְּקַטְּלָן	תִּתְקַטְּלָן	תַּקְטְלָן	תִּתְקַטְּלָן
	They, m.	יִקְטְלוּן	יִתְקְטַלוּן	יְקַטְּלוּן	יִתְקַטְּלוּן	יַקְטְלוּן	יִתְקַטְּלוּן
	They, f.	יִקְטְלָן	יִתְקְטַלָן	יְקַטְּלָן	יִתְקַטְּלָן	יַקְטְלָן	יִתְקַטְּלָן
Infinitive.		מִקְטַל	אִתְקְטָלָא	קַטָּלָא	אִתְקַטָּלָא	אַקְטָלָא	אִתַּקְטָלָא
Benoni.	Sing. m.	קָטֵל (ֲ)	מִתְקְטַל	מְקַטֵּל	מִתְקַטַּל	מַקְטֵל	מִתְרַטַּל
	Plur. m.	קָטְלִין	מִתְקְטְלִין	מְקַטְּלִין	מִתְקַטְּלִין	מַקְטְלִין	מִתַּקְטְלִין
	Sing. f.	קָטְלָא	מִתְקְטְלָא	מְקַטְּלָא	מִתְקַטְּלָא	מַקְטְלָא	מִתַּקְטְלָא
	Plur. f.	קָטְלָן	מִתְקְטְלָן	מְקַטְּלָן	מִתְקַטְּלָן	מַקְטְלָן	מִתַּקְטְלָן
Peil.		קְטִיל		מְקַטַּל		קְטִי	

No. 5 (Reduced)

of the booksellers in Cambridge,/Oxford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Ec./1823./Entered at Stationers Hall, [January 1, 1823], 1260g (57) [3]

Folio broadside.
British Museum.

An easy method/of/acquiring the reading of Hebrew with the vowel-points,/according to the ancient practice./By an experienced teacher./This table will be found particularly calculated to familiarize those who are entirely unacquainted with the Hebrew, to the character and method of/reading correctly; and the young student will thus find considerable aid in the pursuit of the sacred language.

First American (from the Second London) Edition./New-York. 1823:/Published by D. A. Borrenstein, No. 11 Oak-Street./Sold at J. Eastburn's Literary Rooms, John P. Haven's Theological Book-store, E. Bliss & E. White, Broadway, and by T. & J. Swords, 99 Pearl Street; and may be had of all other Booksellers in the U. States./The Publisher begs leave to acquaint the lovers and promoters of Oriental Literature, that he intends reprinting the SYRIAC and ARABIC TABLES, should he receive previous subscriptions for an adequate number, to induce him to insure the heavy expenses for securing the type for them purposely.—The arrangement and price will be the same as the Hebrew. Price thirty seven and a half cents.) [4]

Folio broadside, 14×20 in.
H. E. Pickersgill collection.

Elements/of the/Chaldee Language,/intended as/a supplement/ to the/Hebrew Grammars,/and as a general introduction/to the Aramean Dialects./by the Rev. William Harris, LL.D./Professor of Hebrew at Hoxton Academy, Eng./New York;/Published by D. A. Borrenstein, at 94 William Street/Sold at J. Eastburn's Literary Rooms; John P. Haven's Theological Book-store;/F. Bliss & E. White, Broadway; and by Y. & J. Swords, 99 Pearl Street, and may be had through the medium of all other booksellers./1823. [5]

24 pp. 8°.
RL; PTS.
The back page contains an advertisement of the publication of the Hebrew chart. "Just Published, on a sheet of drawing-paper, (First American from the Second London Edition.) etc." There are several recommendations, especially from the English periodicals. Specially interesting is that from Clement C. Moore, who was professor of Hebrew, at the Episcopal Theological Seminary of New York.
A double page of the text is reproduced to show the fine style of type used.

Evangelical review/of/modern genius;/or/Truth and error contrasted./by Mrs. Simon:/"Holiness to the Lord."/Zechariah, XIV 20./New York;/Published and sold by D. A. Borrenstein, 280 Broadway,/two doors south of Washington Hall./Sold, also, at John P. Haven's theological bookstore,/182 Broadway./D. Fanshaw, printer, No. 1 Murray Street./1823. [6]

116 pp. 8°. Small errata slip pasted in back.
G. J. Miller; PTS.

The second report of the American society for meliorating the condition of the Jews, presented May 14, 1824, contains the following statement: "Arrived in New York from Germany, Mr. Erasmus H. Simon and his wife, Mr. Frederick Gustavus Primker, and son, after them, Mr. John Edward Zadig. All converts from Judaism. Mrs. Simon has generously appropriated the profits of an edition of a volume of original poems to our funds."

Mr. Primker was located in the family of Rev. Mr. McDowel of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and Mr. Zadig with the Rev. Mr. Baird at Princeton, New Jersey, each studying the English language.

1824

The/Second Report/of the American Society/for meliorating/the Condition of the Jews./Presented May 14, 1824/with an appendix./Princeton, N.J./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein,/1824. [7]

54 pp. 8°.
NYPL; AAS; PTS; G. J. Miller.

"Princeton religious and literary gazette." In May 1824, Borrenstein issued proposals for publishing a weekly paper under the editorship of Robert Gibson to be called the "Princeton religious and literary gazette." (J. W. Alexander, *Familiar Letters*, I, 51, letter of May 21, 1824.) See *American magazine*, 1826. [8]

No copy is known to either Mr. Collins of Princeton or to the author. Hageman in his *History of Princeton*, II, 56, says it was "not long continued."

So far as a search would disclose, the Robert Gibson herein mentioned was a brother to T. Callaghan Gibson who published the *American Journal of letters, Christianity and Civil affairs*. See *infra*, nos. 13–25.

Princeton, June, 1824.) (Tract, no. 1./Evidences of piety,/or some remarks/on the effects of saving grace./Extracted from the writings of/the Rev. Robert Bolton, B.D./*On verso of last leaf:* Princeton, N.J./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein. [9]

7 pp. small 8mo.
PTS; PL; G. J. Miller; LC.

A/Series of tracts/on/practical religion./consisting of/selections/ from the works of various authors./Vol. I./Princeton Press./Printed for the publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./1824–5. [10]

296 pp. small 8°.

PL.

Vol. I, no. 1: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly/Vol. I. Princeton Sept. 1824. No. 1./Contents: page/[double columns] Extract from Bolton's Discourse on true Hap/piness. 1/Extracts from Stuckley's Gospel glass. 8/.Extract from the Preface of Baxter's Call to/the unconverted 12/A remarkable Providence; being an Extract/from Middleton's Biography. 15/The Rev. James Hervey's Method of catechis-/ing children 24/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein. PL; LC.

Paper cover. Small 8mo. 24 pp. The back cover contains a notice similar to no. 19 *infra*, on the upper half. The lower half is a description of these contemplated tracts. The complete yearly volume is to contain 300 pages, and the final number is to include an index. They were sold for 62½ cents per annum, or 50 cents if paid in advance. Two copies were $1.00 if paid within six months, and twelve copies for $5.00.

Borrenstein also announces the publication of Soame Jenyn's *Internal evidence of the Christian religion*, and Dr. Miller's *Lecture on creeds and confession*.

Vol. I. no. 2: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly/Vol. I. Princeton, Oct. 1824. No. 2/Contents: page/[double columns] Rules & instructions for a/holy life./by Robert Leaghton, D.D. 24/Extract from the religious experience/of the late/Rev. Jonathan Edwards/president of the College of New Jersey. 29/An interesting account of the conversion of/an individual by means of his own drunk-/enness—from Middleton's Biography 36/On humility—from the writings of the Rev./Henry Scougal, 46/ Princeton, N.J./Printed for the publishers, /by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Vol. I. no. 3: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly/Vol. I. Princeton, Nov. 1824. No. 3./Contents: page/An encouragement for Christians to work/out their own salvation—from Bishop/Hopkins' sermon entitled "Practical Christianity" 49/Anecdotes of the Rev. John Flavel from/Middleton's Biography 61/Directions from a Christian Man's daily car/riage—by Samuel Hieron, from the/Christian's Magazine of 1764, 66/ A paraphrase on Philippians. iii–20. "For/our conversation is in Heaven."—by the venerable and excellent Missionary to/the Indians—Mr. John Elliott, taken/from Rev. Cotton Mather's Magnalia 70/Printed for the publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein,/PL.

Vol. I. no. 4: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, Dec. 1824. No. 4./Contents: page/On providence—A remark of the Rev. Mr./Cecil 72/The spirit of Grace—from Serle's Horae Solitariae 73/Anecdote of Col. Gardiner—from an ac/ count of his life by Dr. Doddridge 89/Well regulated thoughts, proof of a renew-/ed mind, from the Rev. Samuel Walker's/"Christian" 92/ Princeton, N.J./Printed for the publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Vol. I. no. 5: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, Jan. 1825. No. 5./Contents: page/The Spirit of promise—from Serle's Horae/Solitariae 97/On backsliding—from the writings of the/Rev. Andrew Fuller 107/A short description of

the sufferings of our/Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—by the/Rev. Robert Bolton 114/ Rules to make a good tradesman—from the/Christian's magazine for 1784. 117/ Princeton, N.J./Printed for the publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Vol. I, no. 6: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, Feb. 1825. No. 6./Contents./Page/On crucifixion to the world—From How's "Treatise of delighting in God." 121/On the love of God—From the same author 128/On the crucifixion to the world From Owen "On the/evidences of the faith of God's elect." 133/Anecdote of Sir Francis Walsingham 140/An instance of true honour. 141/Faith—From "Cecil's Remains." 143/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the Publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Postage on each number of this work./To places 50 miles from Princeton, one cent.—Over 50 and not over 100 miles/distant, one and a half cents.—To any greater distance, two cents. Paper covers.

Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 121–44 inc.

The back page contains an advertisement describing this series of tracts, similar in wording to the lower half of the last page of Vol. I, no. 1.

Note: Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 were available for examination in the bound volume only.

Vol. I, no. 7: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, March, 1825. No. 7./Contents: page/Miseries of the uncontroverted from the Rev./Joseph Alleine's Admonition to uncon-/verted sinners 145/Directions proper for a half awakened sin-/ner—from the writings of Rev. J./Fletcher 158/Anecdotes of Sir Matthew Hale—from the/Christian's magazine 167/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the Publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Vol. I, no. 8: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, April 1825. No. 8./Contents./Extract from Horne's Letters 169/On private meetings for religion.—Extracted from "Ma/ther's Essay to do good." 176/The views of the regenerate soul.—Extracted from "Walker's Christian." 184/On envy.—Extracted from "Stuckley's Gospel glass." 191/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the Publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein./ Postage on each number of this work./To places 50 miles from Princeton, one cent.—Over 50 and not over 100 miles distant, one and a half cents.—To any greater distance, two cents./PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 169–92, inc. The back cover has the same advertisements as the first issue of this series of tracts.

Vol. I, no. 9: A/Series of Tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, May 1825. No. 9./Contents./Extracts from an essay of the Rev. Thomas Gouge,/on the surest and safest way of thriving. 193/On the blessedness of Heaven. 208/Extract from "Cecil's Remains." 216/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the Publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein./ Postage on each number of this work./To places not exceeding 100 miles from Princeton, one and a half cents.—To/any greater distance, two and a half cents./PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 193–216, inc. The back cover has the following advertisement:

Dr. Alexander's/Evidences of Christianity./Just published by D. A. Borrenstein,/ Princeton, N.J./A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion, by Archibald Alex/ander, professor of didactic and polemic theology,/in the Theological Semi-

nary, at Princeton, N.J./PP The publisher of the above work has the gratification of/informing the public, that the favourable sale of the present edi-/tion has induced him to put a second edition to press./It will be printed on a superfine royal paper, duodecimo, with/a larger type. Price to subscribers, in boards, 87½ cents. Non-/subscribers will have to pay $1.25./Individuals subscribing for six copies, will be entitled to a seventh, gratis./All orders (postage paid) will be duly attended to. May 20, 1825/

Vol. I, no. 10: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, June 1825. No. 10./Contents./The future happiness of the saints from/St. Augustine's Meditations 217/Neglect of family worship—from the Rev./John Willison's "Treatise on the sanctification of the Sabbath." 226/Religious experience of an Indian—from/"Rev. D. Brainerd's Journal 228/Christ the foundation of life—from Serle's Horae solitariae 232/Princeton, N.J./Printed for the Publishers/by D. A. Borrenstein./PL.

Vol. I, no. 11: A/Series of Tracts./Issued Monthly./Vol. I. Princeton, July 1825. No. 11./Contents. Page./On the eternity of hell torments.—From the/Works of President Edwards. 241/On Candour, charity and benevolence, from/"Jones' Immanuel." 250/The confidence of the righteous—Extracted from a/Sermon of Archbishop Leighton. 258/On Visits.—From "Solitude/sweetened." 263/Princeton Press,/Printed for the Publishers./by D. A. Borrenstein./(Contains same postage notice as no. 9) PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 241–64, inc. The advertisement on the back cover indicates difficulty in forwarding copies to subscribers. The publisher announces arrangements for forwarding copies more punctual, and that monthly numbers will be issued before the 15th of the month. Although the notice is dated August 22, 1825, "The number for August may be soon expected."

The lower half of the back cover contains the following announcement: "The Christian public is respectfully informed/that the subscriber has just published/A second edition/of/Dr. Alexander's/Evidences of a Christianity./on superfine royal paper, duodecimo—boards $1 25./PP Orders from Booksellers and others at a/distance, will be promptly attended to./D. A. Borrenstein./August 22, 1825./PL; G. J. Miller.

Vol. I, no. 12: A/series of tracts./Issued Monthly./Vol. I Princeton, Aug. 1825. No. 12./Contents./Page./On brotherly love—Extracted from the writings of Rev. William Gurnall 265/Extract of a letter from the Rev. David Brainerd, to his/brother Israel, at Yale College 269/On slander—Extracted from a Sermon, by Rev. Samuel/Stanhope Smith, D.D., late President of the Col-/lege of New Jersey. 275/An exhortation on constant prayer—from the Rev. E. Bickersteth's "Treatise on prayer." 282/Index to the Subjects 293/Index to the names of the Authors. 298/Title-Page, &c./Princeton Press,/Printed for the Publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein./(Contains three lines concerning postage similar to no. 9) PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. 36 pp., pp. 265–96; title-page inserted in back. A/Series of Tracts./on/Practical Religion,/consisting of/Selections/from the works of various authors./Vol. I./Princeton Press,/Printed for the Publishers/by D. A. Borrenstein/1825./(p. blank, p. contains advertisement announcing the desire to publish the works of the best writers on practical religion and enable any purchaser to procure a neat copy.)

The back cover contains an advertisement of the second edition of *A brief outline of the evidences of the Christian religion* by the Rev. Archibald Alexander, D.D.

Vol. II. A/series of tracts/on practical religion/consisting principally of/selections/from the works of various authors/Vol. II/Princeton press./Printed for the publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein./1825–6.

298 pp. small 8°.
PL.

Vol. II, no. 1: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Sept. 1825. No. 1./Contents./Page./An Exhortation to constant prayer—from Bickersteth's/"Treatise on prayer"continued from last No. 5/To what causes in ministers may much of their want of/success be attributed?—from the "Diary of Rev./Andrew Fuller" 8/Pious resolutions of Bishop Beveridge—from his "Pri-/vate thoughts on religion." 10/On spiritual meditation—from Rev. John Owen's "Trea-/tise on spiritual mindedness." 16/On entering into temptation—from the same author 18/On the value of the soul—from the works of Rev. John/Flavel 21/Anecdote—from the Christian advocate 24/Princeton Press./Printed for the Publishers,/by D. A. Borrenstein./1825./PL; G. J. Miller.

Vol. II, no. 2: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Oct. 1825. No. 2./Contents./Page./On frequent communicating—From the Theological/Dissertations of the Rev. John Erskine, D.D. p. 25/On willingness to die—From a sermon on the compas/sion of God; by the Rev. James Saurin 31/The application of a sermon, entitled "Trust in God,"/by the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon. 34/On self examination—from the Devout meditations of/St. Bernard. 42/Anecdotes—From the Christian advocate. 44/General remarks on the Bible—From Bickersteth's/Abridgment of his "Scripture help." 47/Terms: 62½ cents per annum, or 50 cents, if paid in/advance. Twelve copies will be furnished for $5.00./Princeton Press,/Printed for the Publisher,/by D. A. Borrenstein./(Same postage notice as on no. 9.)PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 25–48, inc.

Vol. II, no. 3: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Nov. 1825. No. 3./Contents./page/General remarks on the Bible—Continued 49/Anecdotes of the Rev. Samuel Walker 62/Anecdote of Grotius 72/. Terms: 62½ cents per annum, or 50 cents, if paid in/advance. Twelve copies will be furnished for $5.00./Princeton Press,/Printed for the publisher,/by D. A. Borrenstein./(Same postage notice as in Vol. I, no. 9.) PL.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 49–72, inc.

Vol. II, no. 4: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Dec. 1825. No. 4./Contents./page/General remarks on the Bible Continued 73/Dr. Green's Question's and counsel 80/A remarkable interposition of divine providence 89/Anecdote 94/Interesting anecdote of one of the United Brethren 95/(Same postage notice as on Vol. I, no. 9.) PL.

Vol. II, no. 5: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Jan. 1826. No. 5./Contents. page/General remarks on the Bible Continued 97/Alleine's Counsel for personal and family godliness 104/On the education of children—From the Works of the/Rev. John Flavel 112/Extract from the Baxter Saint's rest. 117/Anecdote from Mr. Cecil—From the Christian obser-/ver Vol. XI 119/PL.

Vol. II, no. 6: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, Feb. 1826. No. 6/Contents. Page/General remarks on the Bible—from Bickersteth's /Abridgment of his "Scripture help." 121/On Temptation, from the work of the Rev. John Owen 140/Terms: 62½ cents per annum, or 50 cents, if paid in/advance. Twelve copies will be furnished for $5.00./Princeton Press:/Printed for the publisher,/by D. A. Borrenstein./(Contains same three lines concerning postage as Vol. I, no. 9.) PL; G. J. Miller.

Paper covers. Small 8mo. 24 pp., pp. 121–44. The back cover contains this advertisement:

"Notice to Subscribers: The publisher of the "Series of Tracts" finds it necessary to change, in some measure, the original plan of publication, and he proposes to issue the several numbers, once in three months, and instead of short extracts, to insert entire discourses on the most important practical subjects. It is believed, that this alteration will be acceptable to a larger nunber, if not to all the subscribers; and in case any subscriber who has already paid for the second volume–should be dissatisfied with the change, the publisher will endeavour by the first opportunity, to return him his money.

"The present plan, if carried into effect, will enable the publisher to preserve from oblivion many very valuable, practical discourses now but little known, and to circulate extensively, others that are well known and highly esteemed.

"The number of pages in a volume, and the price for the current year will be the same as before. The first quarterly number will be published in the month of May next. Princeton March 1826."

Vol. II, no. 7: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, May 1826. No. 7./Contents. page/On the importance of salvation communicated 145/Immanuel: of scripture views of Jesus Christ—by/Thomas Jones, curate of Cureaton 159/(Note: The last item continues to p. 221, p. bl.)

Vol. II, no. 8: A/series of tracts./Issued monthly./Vol. II. Princeton, October 1826. No. 8./Extract from Willison Catechism. Sect. 97 223/The concluding chapter of Bate's Harmony of divine attributes. 231/Immanuel—continued 262 to 292. PL.

No more issued.

Wherever the full title was unobtainable in the foregoing twenty issues of *Series of tracts*, it was copied from the bound volumes in the Princeton Library. Titles to nos. 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, and 12 in Vol. I and nos. 1, 2, and 6 in Vol. II are complete. Remaining issues had to be taken from the bound volumes.

No. IV./Future/punishment./by Archibald Alexander./Published by the/Nassau Hall Tract Society,/Princeton, N.J./D. A. Borrenstein, pr. [11]

36 pp. 10¾×17¾ cm.

PL; NYPL; PTS.

No explanation could be found for the number IV on this tract. No other series similar to it was available.

An oration;/delivered at/Princeton, New Jersey, November 16, 1824,/before the/New Jersey Colonization Society/by the honour-

able/Theodore Frelinghuysen./Princeton Press:/Printed for the society by D. A. Borrenstein./1824. [12]

14 pp. 8°.
PL.

Help from on high./or/our only resource./A sermon,/delivered in/ Nassau Hall chapel, Princeton, N. Jersey,/in the first Sunday in July, 1824./by Robert Gibson./Princeton, N.J./printed and sold by D. A. Borrenstein;/sold also/by A. Finley, Philadelphia; D. Fenton, Trenton, N.J./and John P. Haven, New York./1824 [13]

30 pp. 8°.
PL; AAS; PTS.

A view/of the/internal evidence/of the/Christian religion/by/ Soame Jenyns/a new edition/Princeton, N.J./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1824 [14]

109 pp. 16°.
PL; PTS.
A leaf at the end, dated June 25, 1824, announces the speedy publication of a new edition of *Watt's Psalms and hymns* to be issued in a new and handsome binding of about 600 pages octavo; no copy has been found prior to 1827.

A sermon,/delivered/in the chapel/of the College of New Jersey,/ August 15, 1824,/by Philip Lindsley./Princeton 1824./Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein,/and also for sale by A. Finean, Philadelphia; Edward J. Coole, Baltimore;/John P. Haven, New York/ and by D. Fenton, Trenton, N. J. [15]

52 pp. 8°.
PL; Oberlin; AAS; PTS; HEHL.

The utility and importance of creeds and confession/and introductory lecture,/delivered/at the opening of the summer sessions/of the/ Theological Seminary/of the/Presbyterian church, Princeton,/July 2, 1824/by Samuel Miller, D.D./professor of ecclesiastical & church government in the said seminary./Princeton, N.J./Printed & published by D. A. Borrenstein/& for sale by A. Finley, Edward J. Coale, John P. Haven & D. Fenton, 1824. [16]

84 pp. 8°.
NYPL; PL; AAS; HEHL.

Session of Theological Seminary, D. A. Borrenstein, 1824. [17]

36 pp.
This item is taken from Noah F. Morrison, Elizabeth, New Jersey, catalogue 175, item 1949. Search for a trace of it in Princeton was of no avail.

Extracts/From an article in/The North American review/for January, 1824/on the subject of/the American/Colonization Society./ Princeton Press:/Printed for the New-Jersey Colonization Society./ by D. A. Borrenstein./1824. [18]

28 pp. 21 cm.

Taken from the annual report by the board of managers of the American Colonization Society.

NJHS; PL.

Proceedings/of/a meeting/held/at Princeton, New Jersey, July 14, 1824,/to form/a Society/in the State of New Jersey to co-operate with/the American Colonization Society./Princeton, N.J., Printed for the Society/by D. A. Borrenstein,/1824. [19]

40 pp. 22 cm.

LC; PL; PTS; NYPL.

The following notice is printed on the back cover:

"The subscriber having established a PRINTING OFFICE in this place, under the immediate patronage of the literary gentlemen who reside here, takes this opportunity of respectfully soliciting the favours of his friends and the public generally. He has furnished his office with new and handsome types, &c; and ventures to assure those who may confide to him the printing of works of any description, that every effort will be used by him to execute the typographical part with neatness and accuracy.

"D. A. BORRENSTEIN.

"PRINCETON, N.J.
"July 1824."

(See *Hageman's History of Princeton*, I, 236.)

The/annual reports/of the/Nassau Hall/Bible, Tract, and Education/Societies./For the year 1824./Princeton, New Jersey:/Printed for the Societies, by D. A. Borrenstein./1824 [20]

32 pp. 8°.

PL.

Natural theology;/or/Evidences/of/the existence and attributes/ of/the deity,/collected from the appearances/of nature./by William Paley, D.D./archdeacon of Carlisle./Trenton, New Jersey,/Published by David Fenton/1824./Printed by David A. Borrenstein, Princeton, N.J. [21]

386 pp. 8°.

PL.

Additional pages in the book advertise books sold by the publisher in Trenton.

Catalogus/Collegii/Neo-Caesariensis/Rerumpublicarum Foederatarum Americae/summae potestatis,/anno XLIX/Princetoniae:/ Typis D. A. Borrenstein/M,DCCCXXIV. [22]

44 pp. 8°.

AAS; LC; NJHS; PL; PTS.

College of New Jersey (Princeton University). Catalogue of the officers and students of Nassau Hall, 1825. [23]

15 pp. 8°.

This item has been furnished by Mr. Collins. I have been unable to examine a copy.

Acts/of the/Forty-ninth/General assembly/of the/state of New Jersey./at session begun at Trenton, the twenty-eighth day of/ October, one thousand eight hundred and/twenty-four./[*seal of state*]/ Princeton Press:/Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1824. [24]

204 pp. 8°.

LC; NYPL; N.J. State Library; PL; PTS; NJHS.

According to the state treasurer's report in the *Votes and proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1825, p. 39, a payment in the sum of $344.50 was made on May 6, 1825, to "D. Borrenstein for printing the laws and resolutions of the last sitting."

1825

American journal of letters, christianity and civil affairs. Published by T. Callaghan Gibson. Edited by Robert Gibson. (See no. 8.) Printed by D. A. Borrenstein. No. 1 appeared April 2, 1825, folio, 4 pages. Hageman (II, 57) says it was succeeded by the *American magazine of letters and christianity*. See under 1826. Also see J. W. Alexander, *Familiar letters*, I, 73, 77. [25]

The Princeton Theological Library has a copy of Vol. I, no. 32, Princeton, New Jersey, Saturday, November 5, 1825. It bears the title: *American journal of letters, christianity, & civil affairs.*

It is a 4-page folio newspaper, each page 35×55 cm., published by T. C. Gibson on every Saturday. The pages are numbered 125, 126, 127, and 128. The last page, lower right-hand corner, carries an advertisement of Dr. Miller's discourse delivered before the Library & Philosophical Society of New Jersey, September 27, 1825, for sale by Borrenstein for 25 cents.

There is another advertisement of *The life of Colonel Gardner* in one volume, 18° on fine paper at 75 cents.

The *Journal* itself was sold at $2.50 in advance for a year's subscription, $3.00 if paid afterward and before the first six months, and $3.50 after that. The last line is: "Printed by D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton, N.J." The paper carried general religious news. The lecture of Dr. Miller above mentioned occupies most of the first page.

The/annual reports/of the/Nassau Hall/Bible, Tract & Education/ Societies/For the year, 1825/Princeton Press,/Printed for the societies by D. A. Borrenstein./1825 [26]

41 pp. 8°.

PL.

This society reports distributing 115 German bibles and 12 testaments in the vicinity of Bethlehem. Rev. Reinke of Litiz, Pennsylvania, reported scarcity of German bibles. Borrenstein went to these parts of Pennsylvania after leaving Princeton, to sell German bibles.

Scripture histories;/or/Interesting narratives/extracted from the/ Old Testament,/for the/instruction and amusement/of youth/by Mrs. Pilkington./from the London edition/Princeton Press;/Printed for the booksellers/by D. A. Borrenstein/1825. [27]

139 pp. 24°.
PL.
The author was Mary Hopkins.

A/brief outline/of the/evidences/of the/Christian religion/by Archibald Alexander./Second edition/Princeton Press./Printed & published by D. A. Borrenstein./1825. [28]

299 pp. 24°.
PL; NJHS; PTS.
4th edition, Princeton Press, 1828. Connolly and Madden, Princeton.

Mengwe;/a/tale of the frontier./A poem./Princeton Press,/Printed by D. A. Borrenstein;/published by H. C. Carey & L. Lea, Philadelphia./1825. [29]

76 pp. 17½ cm.
LC; NYHS; NJHS.
Considered Borrenstein's finest example of printing.
The author was Samuel J. Bayard.

A sermon,/preached at Freehold, November 25, 1824/on/the death/of the Rev. John Woodhull, D.D./late pastor of the Presbyterian church of/Freehold, New Jersey/by the/Rev. Isaac Van Arsdale Brown, A.M./Princeton Press: Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./ 1825. [30]

32 pp. 8°.
PL; PTS; HEHL; NJHS.

Some/remarkable passages/in/the life/of the honourable Col. James Gardiner/who was slain at the battle of Preston-/pans, 21st September, 1745./ by P[hilip] Doddridge, D.D./Princeton Press:/ printed for the publisher/by D. A. Borrenstein,/1825. [31]

214 pp. 24°.
PL.
A second edition was published in 1827. 208 pp. 24°.

The/Christian duty of Christian women./A discourse,/delivered/ in the church of Princeton, New Jersey./August 23, 1825./before the/ Princeton Female Society,/for the support of/a female School in

India/by Ashbel Green, D.D./published at the request of the Society/ Princeton Press, Printed for the Society, by D. A. Borrenstein./1825. [32]

28 pp. 8°.
PL; AAS; PTS; H. E. Pickersgill.

Biblical repertory./A/collection of tracts/in/Biblical literature./by Charles Hodge,/professor of Oriental and Biblical literature, in the Theological/Seminary, at Princeton, New Jersey./[line of Greek]/ Vol. I/Princeton Press:/Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1825. [33*a*]

608 pp. 8°.

Biblical repertory./A/collection of tracts/in/Biblical Literature./ by Charles Hodge,/professor of Oriental and Biblical literature, in the The-/ological Seminary, at Princeton, N.J./[line of Greek]/Vol. II./ New-York:/Published by G. and C. Carvill./D. A. Borrenstein.) (Princeton Press. [33*b*]

580 pp. 8°.
Announces Professor Hodge departing for Europe and committing the superintendence of the work to Professor Patton of the College of New Jersey. Request that subscriptions unpaid for first volume be paid to Messrs. G. & C. Carvill of New York.

Biblical repertory./A/collection of tracts/in/Biblical Literature./ by Charles Hodge,/professor of Oriental and Biblical literature, in the The-/ological Seminary, at Princeton, N.J./[line of Greek]./Vol. III./New York:/Published by G. and C. Carvill./1827. [33*c*]

604 pp. 8°.
On the verso of title-page in lower left-hand corner: "Printed by D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton, N.J."
PL; G. J. Miller; PTS; NYPL.
Quarterly. Vols. I–III only were printed by Borrenstein. Publication continued until 1888.
See *A History of American magazines*, 1741–1850, by Frank Luther Mott (New York, 1930), pp. 529–35.

A/discourse,/delivered/in the chapel of Nassau Hall,/before the/ Literary and Philosophical Society/of New Jersey,/at its first annual meeting September 27, 1825,/by Samuel Miller, D.D./professor of ecclesiastical history and church government in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, and corresponding secretary of/the said Society./ "Manus desunt poscentibus arvis."/Princeton Press:/Printed for the Society, by D. A. Borrenstein./1825. [34]

40 pp. 8°.
PTS; NYPL; Harvard; LC; PL; NJHS.

Constitution of the New Jersey Literary and Philosophical Society. [35]

2 pp. 4°.
Item is from Mr. Collins.

Proceedings/of the/first annual meeting/of the/New Jersey/Colonization Society./held at Princeton, July 11, 1825./with extracts from/the reports, &c.,/Princeton Press./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein. [36]

40 pp. 8°.
PL; LC; NJHS.

Catalogue of books/belonging to the/Princeton/Library Company./January 1, 1825./D. A. Borrenstein, printer, Princeton, N.J. [37]

12 pp. 12°.
PL.

Catalogue/of/the officers and students/of the/Theological Seminary,/Princeton, New Jersey./*At bottom:* Princeton Jan. 1, 1825/ D. A. Borrenstein, Printer, Princeton, N.J. [38]

Folio broadside, 22×42¼ cm.
PTS.

Commencement,/Nassau Hall, September 28, 1825./Order of Exercises. [39]

Broadside. No imprint, but type is that used by Borrenstein's press. Copy in Princeton Library is torn and frayed in one corner, but approximately 18×27 cm.

The/life of God/in the/soul of man/by Henry Scougal,/professor of divinity in the University of Aberdeen,/to which is prefixed/a short memoir of the author./—/also,/rules for a holy life,/by Archbishop Leighton./Princeton Press,/published by Daniel Fenton, 1825./ Printed by D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton, N.J. [40]

190 pp. 14½ cm.
PL; NJHS.

1826

Aeschylus. ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΥ/ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ/'ΕΠΤΑ 'ΕΠΙ ΘΗΒΑΙΣ,/ The/Seven before Thebes./A tragedy of Aeschylus./Printed from the text of Schütz, under the care and direction of the Senior Class of Nassau Hall./Princeton Press:/printed by D. A. Borrenstein, 1826. [41]

40 pp. 8°.
1,058 lines of Greek printing. The first book printed in Greek at Princeton.
Some copies have an extra cover upon which is "for sale by H. C. Carey and L. Lea, Philadelphia; G. & C. Carvill, New York," in addition to the foregoing title.
PL; PTS; H. E. Pickersgill; NJHS.

The/canon/of the/Old and New Testaments/ascertained/or/The Bible complete/without the Apocrypha & unwritten traditions/by Archibald Alexander/Princeton Press./Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein/for G. & C. Carvill, N.Y./1826 [42]

418 pp. 20 cm.
PL; PTS; NJHS; HC.

A sermon/preached in the/chapel of Nassau Hall,/August 13, 1826/ by Archibald Alexander./Published at the request of the students of the College./Princeton Press:/printed by D. A. Borrenstein,/1826. [43]

41 pp. 8°.
NYPL; PL; PTS; HEHL; NJHS.

Solemn warnings/of/the dead;/or An/admonition/to/unconverted sinners./by Joseph Alleine./"He being dead yet speaketh." Heb. xi. 4/Princeton Press:/Printed & Published by D. A. Borrenstein;/ for sale by G. & C. Carvill, John P. Haven, and Collins &/Co., New York; A. Finley and Toward & Hogan./Philadelphia: and D. Fenton, Trenton, N. J.; 1826 [44]

180, [1] pp. 24°. 2d ed., 1828.
The unnumbered page is an announcement of Baxter's *Call to the unconverted*, dated May 4, 1826, and signed by D. A. Borrenstein.
PL.

Proceedings/of the/second annual meeting/of the/New Jersey/ Colonization Society./held at Princeton, July 10, 1826./with the report./Princeton Press:/Printed for the Society, by D. A. Borrenstein./ 1826. [45]

28 pp. 8°.
PL; G. J. Miller.

American magazine/of/letters & christianity:/Vol. I. January 1, 1826. No. 1/Contents:/Prospectus 1-/Communications/The New Year 4/On authorship 6/On theological study 11/On the moral character of infidels 21/Reviews./Disorders of literary men 24/The Milton manuscript 30/Wayland's Discourses 40/Critical notices/Biographia Americana 46/Gourgaud on the Russian campaign 47/Drew on the divinity and atonement of our Lord 47/Intelligence./Literary and academical 48/Philosophy & the arts 54/Ecclesiastical affairs 60/ Politics 62/List of new publications 64/Princeton, N.J./Published by T. C. Gibson./D. A. Borrenstein, Pr. Princeton, N.J. [46]

80 pp. 8°; paper covers.

PL; PTS.

Back cover contains advertisement that the magazine will be published monthly, each number to contain more than 60 pages, $3.00 per year subscription before delivery of third number and $3.50 thereafter. $6.00 after fourth number. Advertisements of literary nature would be accepted at $2.00 per page. Booksellers would receive discounts on copies taken. This number contains announcement of Carvill's publication of Dwight's *Theology* and also the publication of *The Biblical repertory*.

No. 2: American magazine/of/letters & christianity./Vol. I. February 1826. No. 2./Contents. [double columns]/Communications/Modern criticism 65/Professor Patton's/Lecture on education 69/The Synodical feast 87/Reviews/Observations on the improve/ment of seminaries of lear-/ning in the United States./by Walter R. Johnson./Plan of a seminary for the/education of instructors of youth, by Thomas H. Hal-/landet 91/The difficulties of infidelity./by George Stanley Faber./The evidence of Christianity/derived from its nature and/reception. By J. B. Sumner 103./Intelligence./Literary & academical 116/Philosophy and the arts 120/Ecclesiastical affairs 121/List of new publications 127./Princeton, N.J./Published by T. C. Gibson./D. A. Borrenstein) (Princeton Press.

64 pp., pp. 65–128; brown covers.

This number carries advertisement by Borrenstein announcing the publication of Bass's *Greek and English pocket lexicon to the New Testament.* "Handsome edition of this useful little work. This edition will be rendered still more valuable to the Student, by the edition of all those words occurring in the Septuagint, but not in the New Testament." Borrenstein also contemplated publishing a handsome pocket edition of the *Greek New Testament*, which would be uniform in size and paper to bind up with the lexicon.

PL; PTS.

No. 3: American magazine/of/letters & christianity./Vol. I. March 1826, No. 3./Contents/[double column] Communications/On diffusion of knowledge 129/Mr. Gummere's Lecture on surveying 133/State of religion in Colleges 144/Reviews/Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania 153/Biblical repertory. A collec-/tion of tracts in Biblical literature 162/critical notices./Moore's Life of Sheridan 170./Profession not principle 171/Dr. Miller's Letter in reference to case of Mr. Duncan 172/Bush, On religious know-/ledge 174/Intelligence./Literary and academical 176/Philosophy & the arts 181/Ecclesiastical affairs 185/Miscellaneous articles 191/Princeton, N.J./Published by T. C. Gibson/D. A. Borrenstein) (Princeton Press.

64 pp., pp. 129–92; 8°; green paper cover.

Back cover carries advertisement of magazine on upper half: "Notice for unpaid subscribers to remit." Carvill's announcement of the publication of Dwight's *Theology* and *The biblical repertory* is on the lower half, and announcement by Borrenstein of the publication of "Dr. Miller's letter to a gentleman in Baltimore. at 50c."

PL; PTS.

No. 4: American magazine/of/letters & christianity./Vol. I. April 1826. No. 4./Contents/[double column] Communication:/Trip to Cuba 193/American literature 199/On revivals of religion 209/Reviews:/Inaugural discourses of pre-/sidents Lindsley and Bishop 215/Address to the Christian pub/lic on the proposed union./of the American Board of/Foreign Missions and the United Foreign Mission-/ary Society 233/In-

telligence./Literary and academical 247./Philosophy & the arts 251/Miscellaneous articles 252/List of new publications. 256/Princeton, N.J./Published by T. C. Gibson./ D. A. Borrenstein) (Princeton Press.

64 pp., pp. 193–256; 8°; brown paper cover.

Back cover carries same advertisement as no. 3. No more than four numbers have been found.

PTS; PL.

A call/to/the unconverted./By Richard Baxter./A new edition./ Princeton Press:/Published by D. A. Borrenstein./1826. [46*a*]

125 pp. 16 cm.

LC.

Commencement,/Nassau Hall, September 27, 1826./Order of Exercises. [47]

Broadside. Contains graduates' names, program, and conferring of degrees. No imprint, but type is that used by Borrenstein at this time. Copy in the Princeton Library is approximately 23×30 cm.

Epitome/historiae sacrae,/Auctore l'Homond./Quam, prosodiae signis, novaque vocum omnium/interpretatione,/adornavit/Georgius Ironside, A.M./A new edition,/in which the quantity of almost every syllable/is marked,/improved and corrected/by a gentleman of Princeton,/copyright secured./sale/by G. & C. Carvill, New York./ 1826. [Dated January 1, 1826.] [48]

182 pp. 24°.

PL.

A lecture/on/land surveying./Delivered November 23, 1825, in the chapel of/Nassau Hall./Before the Literary and Philosophical Society/of/New Jersey./by John Gummere, A.M./member of the said Society; fellow of the American Philosophical/Society, ec./Princeton press:/Printed for the Society, by D. A. Borrenstein./1826. [49]

14 pp. 8°.

Page 14 has a geometrical design, showing the division of a circle.

PL; PTS.

A discourse/on popular education;/delivered in the church at Princeton,/the evening before the annual commencement of the College of New Jersey,/September 26, 1826./by Charles Fenton Mercer./ Published at the request of the American Whig and Cliosophic Societies,/Princeton Press./Printed for the societies, by D. A. Borrenstein,/1826. [50]

86, xli, pp. 21½ cm.

NYPL; LC; PL; AAS; NJHS; PTS.

A/letter/to/a gentleman of Baltimore./in reference to the case of/ the Rev. Mr. Duncan./by Samuel Miller, D.D. professor of ecclesiastical history and church government, in the Theolo-/gical Seminary, at Princeton, N.J./The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable—James iii.17./Princeton Press:/Printed by D. A. Borrenstein/1826. [51]

92 pp. 8°.
Published at 50 cents.
PL; AAS; PTS.

Christian weapons not carnal, but spiritual/A/sermon,/delivered in the/Second Presbyterian church,/in the city of Baltimore,/October 13, 1826;/at/the installation/of the Reverend John Breckenridge,/ as colleague with the/Reverend John Glendy, D.D./in the pastoral charge of the said church./by Samuel Miller, D.D./professor of ecclesiastical history and church government, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton./New Jersey./Princeton Press./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein, 1826. [52]

55 pp. 8°.
NYPL; LC; PL; PTS; NJHS.

Paradise lost./A poem,/by/John Milton/in twelve books./Princeton, N.J./Printed & published by D. A. Borrenstein./1826. [53]

377 pp. 16 mo.
H. E. Pickersgill.

Sacred dramas/by/Hannah More./to which are added/Reflections of King Hezekiah;/Sensibility, a poem/and/search after happiness./ Princeton Press:/Published by D. A. Borrenstein/1826. [54]

210 pp. 16°.
Page following p. 208 is blank and should be p. 209; page following blank is numbered 209.
PL; G. J. Miller.

New Jersey patriot. Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein. A weekly newspaper. 4 pp. of five columns each. folio. [55]

See Hageman, II, 57. The Library of Congress has a file from Vol. I, nos. 6–32 (with exceptions) (September 28, 1826—March 15, 1827), printed and published for the proprietors by D. A. Borrenstein, Nos. 36–52 (April 19—August 9, 1827) printed by A. E. Werder. Nos. 53–61 (August 18—October 12, 1827) were printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein. A photostatic copy of this series is in the Library of Princeton University.

Vol. I, no. 9 (October 12, 1826). Borrenstein announces proposals for publishing a four-sheet map of the United States by H. S. Tanner, geographer and map publisher of

Philadelphia. Also "The canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained; or the Bible complete without the Apocrypha and unwritten traditions." by Archibald Alexander, Professor of Didactics and Polemic Theology, in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey (copy of title deposited September 19, 1829, in United States District Court).

Vol. I. no. 11 (October 26, 1826). Contains this advertisement: "Wood. Those subscribers to the Patriot, who may prefer paying their subscriptions in wood, are informed that a few cords of good oak or hickory wood will be received, if delivered soon, at the office, at the market price. Oc. 26, 1826. D. A. Borrenstein." The advertisement was carried in the paper until the spring of 1827. Announces the agency for the *North American review* for Princeton and vicinity and solicits subscriptions for it.

Also advertises: "Superfine folio post, first quality letter paper together with other articles of stationary, for sale on the lowest terms, at the bookstore of D. A. Borrenstein."

Vol. I, no. 22 (January 11, 1827). "Notice to subscribers. Subscribers to the New Jersey Patriot are informed that agreeably to our terms of publication, one year's subscriptions ($2) becomes due at the expiration of six months, or on the receipt of the 26th number, and if not so paid, two dollars and fifty cents will be charged. Subscribers who receive their papers by mail will oblige the publisher by remitting their subscription (postpaid) on or before the receipt of the 26th number. D. A. Borrenstein, publisher."

Vol. I, no. 31 (March 15, 1827). "A young man who is acquainted with bookkeeping, and writes a good hand, may meet with an immediate situation, on application at this office. Part of his time will be required in the wareroom of the establishment. Good recommendations will be accepted."

Vol. I, no. 41 (May 24, 1827). Announces the failure of his collector, Mr. Wiggins, to obtain subscriptions, and requests subscribers to remit by mail.

Vol. I, no. 43 (May 31, 1827). Advertises printing office. "Handbills, cards, circulars &c. &c., And jobs of every description Printed with neatness and accuracy on moderate terms at the office of the New Jersey Patriot. Princeton."

Vol. II, no. 53 (August 18, 1827). Published as a six-column newspaper, smaller type and more condensed. One of the notes states that in its new form it is being sent free to non-subscribers to show the improvement in quality. The title head was also changed. Announces for the first time the proposed publication of:

"1. Doddridge's Rise and progress,—a neat pocket edition.
"2. Baxter's Saint's rest,—same size.
"3. Memoirs of the Rev. Mr. Halyburton,—a new edition, with an original preface—[This valuable little work is nearly out of print.]
"4. Watt's Psalms and hymns, 12 mo. on a large type, and superfine paper.
"5. Saurin's Sermons—complete in 1 volume, etc., A group of five professors from the university recommended the ventures."

Vol. II, no. 57 (September 22, 1827). Proposed publication by subscription of a revised and enlarged edition of: "Letters on the sacrament of the Lords Supper by Samuel Bayard, esq., To be printed in an 18 mo. volume on good paper, 62½ cents per copy—subscribers for four copies will receive a fifth gratis—and 25% discount on a larger number. "The profits of this edition after defraying the expenses will be given to the Princeton Sunday School Union."

Vol. II, no. 59 (September 29, 1827). Borrenstein complains again of the non-payment of subscription by the patrons of the paper.

Vol. II, no. 61 (October 12, 1827). The last issue in the file.

A lecture,/on/classical & national education;/delivered December 28, 1825, in the chapel of/Nassau Hall,/Before the/Literary & Philosophical Society/of/New Jersey./by Robert B.[ridges] Patton, A.M./professor of languages in the College of New Jersey,/Princeton Press:/Printed for the Society, by D. A. Borrenstein./1826. [56]

20 pp. 8°; paper covers. No printing on cover.

PL.

1827

Catalogue/of the/officers and students/of the/Theological Seminary,/Princeton, N.J./January, 1827./Borrenstein, Printer, Princeton, N.J. [57]

8 pp. small 8°.

Rev. Archibald Alexander, D.D.; Rev. Samuel Miller, D.D.; Rev. Charles Hodge; and John W. Nevin, for whom Borrenstein did printing, were professors of the seminary at the time.

PTS.

Catalogue/of/the officers and students/of the/Theological Seminary./Princeton, New Jersey. At bottom: Princeton Jan. 1, 1827, Borrenstein printer. [58]

Folio broadside, 26½×41½ cm.

PTS.

The/New Testament/of our Lord and Saviour,/Jesus Christ;/translated out of/the original Greek/with the former translations diligently compared and revised./The text of the common translation/is arranged in paragraphs, such as the sense required; the/divisions of chapters and verses being noted in the margin./by James Nourse/student in the Theological Seminary,/Princeton, N.J./New York:/Published by G. & C. Carvill/1827. Printed at the Princeton Press/by D. A. Borrenstein. [59]

373+xxiii pp. 12°.

This volume contains a notice of a copyright registered in the United States District Court of New Jersey, but the original records have been lost.

PL.

Scripture questions;/principally designed for/adult Bible classes/by George Bush,/pastor of the Presbyterian Church,/at Indianapolis,

Ind./Princeton Press:/Printed for the author/by D. A. Borrenstein/ 1827. [60]

87 pp. 16°.
PL.

The/rise and progress/of/religion in the soul;/illustrated in a course of/serious and practical addresses,/with a devout/meditation and prayer/added to each chapter./by Philip Doddridge./Princeton, N.J./Published by W. D'Hart./1827. [61]

188 pp. 16°.
This item was announced in the *New Jersey patriot* as one of the forthcoming publications.
PL.

Three discourses/on the/evidences/of/the Christian religion/designed for the/benefit of young persons/by Philip Doddridge, D.D./ Princeton, N.J./Published by D. A. Borrenstein/1827. [62]

96 pp. 24°.
PL; PTS.

Some/remarkable passages/in/the life/of the honourable/Col. James Gardiner,/who was slain at the battle of Prestonpans./21st September 1775/by P. Doddridge, D.D./Princeton Press./Printed for the booksellers,/by D. A. Borrenstein/1827. [63]

208 pp. 24°.
PL.

The/decision,/or,/Religion must be all,/or is nothing./Search the Scriptures—John v. 39/Acquaint thyself with God and be at peace—Job. XXII./Sixth American edition./Princeton, Press./Published by D. A. Borrenstein/1827. [64]

96 pp. 24°. 3×5½ in.; board covers.
H. E. Pickersgill, Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

Letters/on/clerical manners and habits:/addressed to/a student/in the/Theological Seminary,/at Princeton, N.J./by Samuel Miller, D.D./professor of ecclesiastical history and church government/in the said seminary./Second edition/New York./Published by G. & C. Carvill./1827. [65]

423 pp. small 8°.
Advertisement containing affidavit of publication following title-page: "D. A. Borrenstein, print, Princeton, N.J." This second edition was reset in finer and closer type than the first edition.

PL; PTS; HEHL.

The first edition has the same title as above, but without words "Second Edition." 476 pp. small 8mo.

PL.

The third edition was announced in the *Princeton Whig*, January 1, 1825.

The importance of the gospel ministry:/and/introductory lecture,/ delivered/at the opening of the winter session,/of the Theological Seminary/at Princeton, New Jersey/November 9 1827/by Samuel Miller, D.D. Princeton, N.J./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1827 [66]

56 pp. 8°.

Harvard; PL; LC; PTS; HEHL.

A/narrative/of the/revival of religion,/in the/county of Oneida;/ particularly in the bounds of/the presbytery of Oneida,/in the year 1826./Utica,/Printed by Hastings & Tracy, 1826./Princeton, N. J./ reprinted by D. A. Borrenstein./1827. [67]

pp. viii, [9]–67, with paper wrappers, the front covers having a printed half-title. $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{5}{16}$ inches.

HEHL.

New Jersey/Sunday school/journal/published under the patronage of/the Somerset & Middlesex S. S. Union, of the/Princeton,/and of the/Trenton Union./Vol. I. no. 1, July 1827./Princeton Press,/Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1827. [68]

The Princeton Library has no. 1, Vol. I, and no. 8, Vol. II, the latter bearing the Connolly & Madden imprint. 16 pp. 16° each. Vol. II, nos. 1–3 (1828), each contain a woodcut.

New Jersey Historical Society has Vol. II, nos. 1–4, 6.

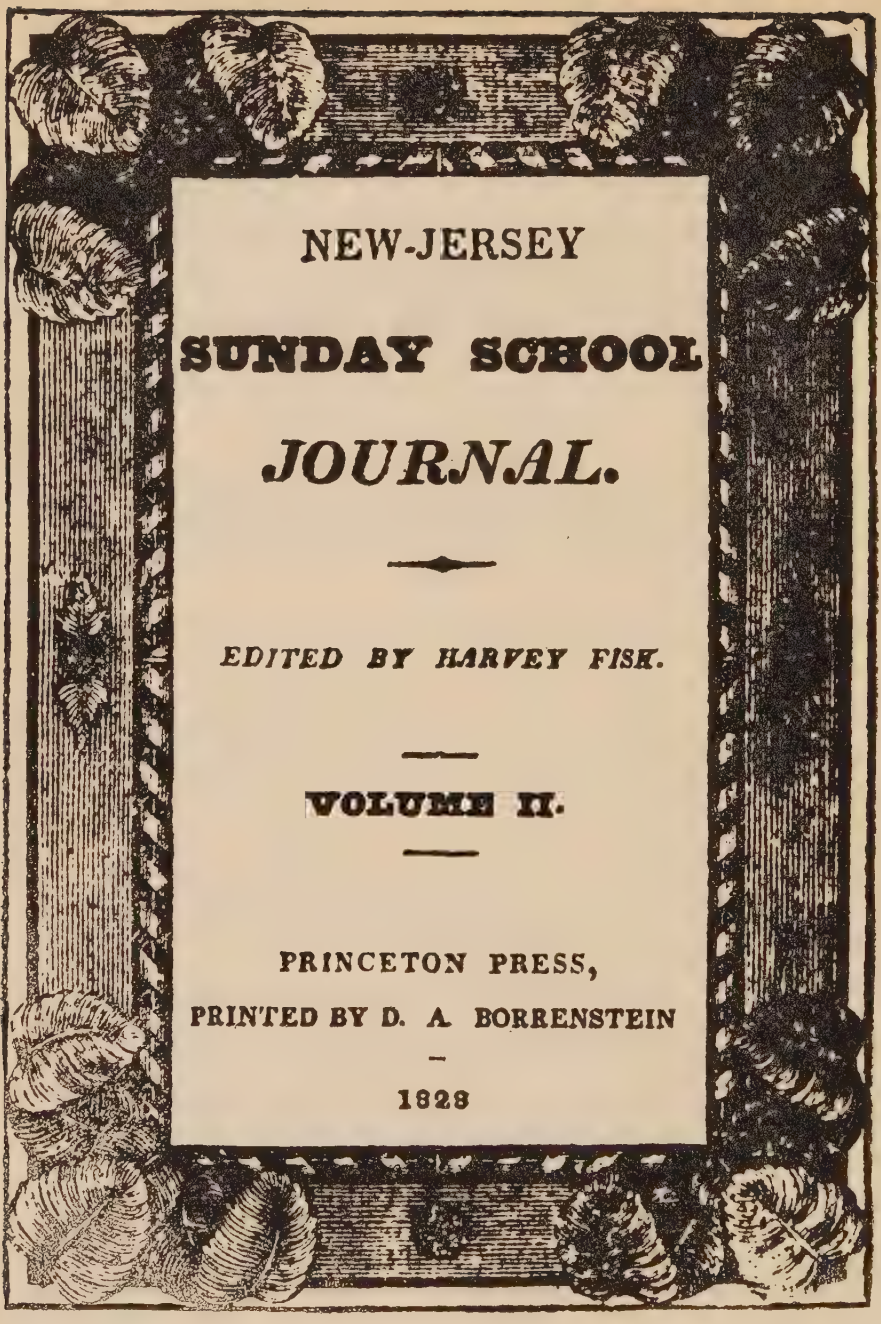
G. J. Miller has item reproduced.

Princeton Theological Seminary has a small bound volume containing the first six numbers from July, 1827, to December, 1827, numbered consecutively from 1 to 6, inclusive. Each number is 16° and contains 16 pages. The whole volume contains 96 pages.

No. 4 of Vol. I (October, 1827) contains a woodcut above the title.

No. 5 of Vol. I (November, 1827) contains a woodcut on p. 79 which shows two men carrying a large bunch of grapes hanging across a stick.

Address/on/sacred music;/delivered/at the anniversary of the/ Handel and Hastings Society,/in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J./December 5, 1827/by John W.[illiamson] Nevin,/assistant



No. 68 (Enlarged)

teacher in the institution/Published by request./Princeton, N.J./ Printed by D. A. Borrenstein/1827 [69]

24 pp. 8°.
PL; NJHS; PTS.

Proceedings/of the/third annual meeting/of the/New Jersey/ Colonization Society./Held at Princeton, N.J. August 15, 1827. to which is added/the report of the board of managers,/ec. ec./Princeton Press:/Printed for the Society by D. A. Borrenstein,/1827. [70]

32 pp. 12°.
PL; NJHS

Catalogus/Collegii/Neo-Caesariensis./Rerumpublicarum Foederatarum Americae summae potestatis/anno.LII./Princetoniae./Typis D. A. Borrenstein./MDCCCXXVII. [71]

46 pp. 8°.
PL; LC.

Sermons/of/the Rev. James Saurin/late pastor of the French Church at the Hague/From the French,/by the/Rev. Robt. Robinson, Rev. Henry Hunter, D.D.,/and/Rev. Joseph Sutcliffe, A.M./a new edition, with additional sermons:/revised and corrected/by the Rev. Saml. Burder, A.M./Late of Clare Hall, Cambridge; lecturer of the united parishes of Christ Church/Newgate Street, and St. Leonard, Foster Lane, London./with a likeness of the author, and a general index./Printed from the last London edition [decorative piece] Princeton, N.J./Printed & published by D. A. Borrenstein;/for sale by/G. & C. Carvill, John P. Haven, New York; A. Finley & Little,/ Philadelphia; & Richardson & Lord, Boston/1827. [72]

2 vol. (Vol. I: 454 pp.; Vol. II: 453 pp.) 8°.
The title-page carries monogram "D. A. B." as a printer's device, grapevine surrounded by foliage. The frontispiece is a portrait of Saurin, drawn by B. Picart, engraved by Durand.
The earliest Princeton book with an engraved frontispiece.
PL; Chicago University Library; PTS.

A/guide to Christ;/or,/The way of directing souls/that are/under the work of conversion./compiled for the help of/young ministers:/ and may be serviceable to private Chris-/tians who are inquiring the/ way to Zion./by Solomon Stoddard, A.M./late pastor of the church in Northampton./with a prefixed epistle/. by the Rev. Dr. Increase

Mather./Princeton, N.J./Published by William D'Hart./1827/D. A. Borrenstein, printer. [73]

159 pp. 8°.
NYPL; PTS; PL.

Translated for the Biblical repertory./Hints/on the/importance of the study/of the/Old Testament./by Augustus [Friedrich August Gottreu] Tholuck,/professor in the University of Halle,/Translated from the German/by R. B. Patton,/professor of languages, Nassau Hall./Princeton Press./Printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1827. [74]

58 pp. 8°.
PL; NYPL.

Hymns and spiritual songs./A new edition corrected/Princeton, N.J./Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein, 1827./For sale/by the principal booksellers in the United States./1827. [75*a*]

316 pp. 12°.
By Isaac Watts.
PL; PTS.

Hymns/and spiritual songs/in three books/I. collected from the scriptures./II. composed on divine subjects./III. Prepared for the Lords Supper./by Isaac Watts, D.D./a new ed. corrected/For sale/by the principal booksellers in the United States./Princeton, N.J./Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein, 1827. [75*b*]

278 pp. 12°.
Often bound together with no. 76.
Another edition was published in 1828.
PL; PTS.

Psalms,/carefully suited to the Christian worship in the United States of America./by Isaac Watts, D.D./A new edition, corrected./Princeton, N.J./Printed and published by D. A. Borrenstein and for sale/by/the principal booksellers in the U. States./1827. [76]

316 pp. 12°.
Often bound together with no. 75*b*.
PL; PTS.

1828

Solemn warning/of/the dead;/or An admonition/to/unconverted sinners./by Joseph Alleine./Second Princeton edition./Princeton, N.J./Published by William D'Hart (Borrenstein print) 1828. [77]

160 pp. 24°.
PL.

Das/Neue Testament/unser/Herrn/und Heilandes/Jesu Christi./ Nach Dr. Martin Luther's Uebersetzung./Princeton, N.J./Gedruckt und im Verlag bey D. A. Borrenstein./Stereotypirt von J. Howe, Philadelphia./1828. [78]

273 pp. 12°.

After Borrenstein left Princeton, he went to Philadelphia and embarked upon the venture of selling German Bibles for Mr. Howe (presumably the foregoing stereotyper) among the Pennsylvania German settlements.

PL; NYPL; PTS.

A statement/of what has been recently done/to supply the/destitute in the state of New Jersey/with the Sacred Scripture./Published at the request of the executive com-/mittee of the New Jersey Bible Society./Princeton Press/printed by D. A. Borrenstein./1828. [79]

3^8 pp. 8°.

PL.

A/plain and easy/catechism,/suitable for/children of a tender age./and adapted to the use of/families and Sabbath schools. [single bar] By a lady of New Jersey./[cut of woman with a child sitting on a table facing her and a cat in the window] Princeton, N.J./Published by the Princeton Sunday school union./D. A. Borrenstein, printer./ 1828. [80]

16 pp. 16°.

PL; E. T. Hutchinson, Elizabeth, New Jersey; G. J. Miller.

Borrenstein's American library edition./The/British poets./The works/of/Alexander Pope, esq./in three volumes./Vol. I./D. A. Borrenstein, Princeton Press,/1828./From Jones university edition entire. [81]

3 vols. (Vol. I: 233 pp.; Vol. II: 251 pp.; Vol. III: 212 pp.). 12°.

Each volume has a highly ornate engraved title-page with Gothic architectural design inclosing the words: "Borrenstein's American library edition. The British poets." Vol. I has a frontispiece portrait of Pope engraved by P. A. Hamm, imprinted: "Princeton, Published by D. A. Borrenstein, 1828."

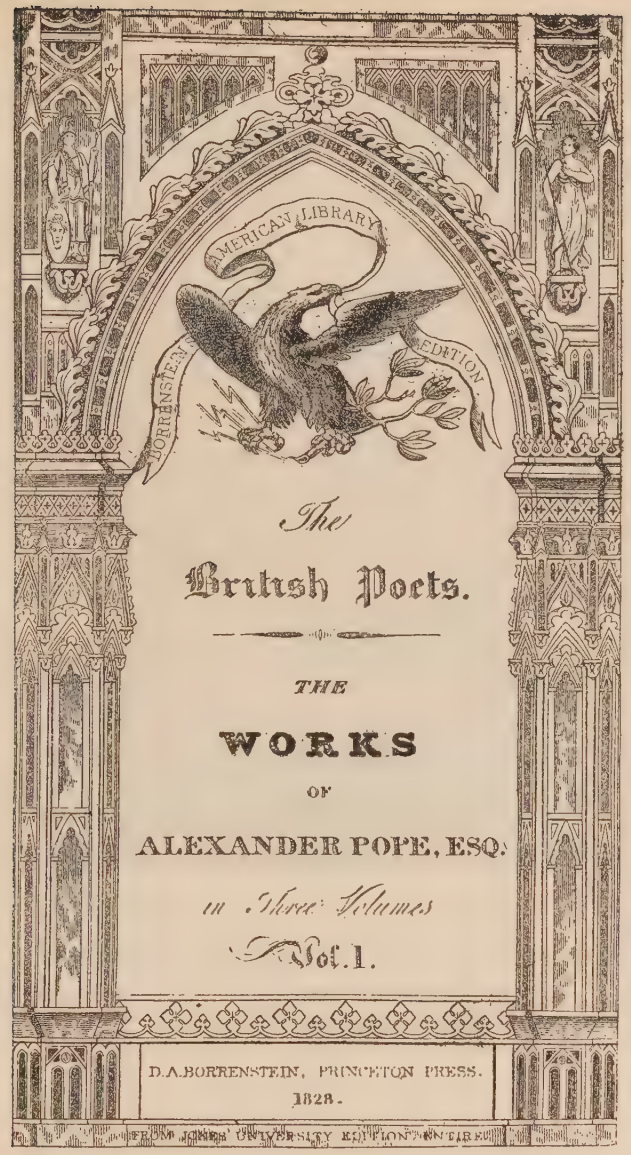
H. E. Pickersgill, Perth Amboy, New Jersey; Elmer T. Hutchinson, Elizabeth, New Jersey.

A new/series of questions/on the/selected Scripture lessons/for/ Sabbath schools./By a superintendent/of a Sabbath-school in New Jersey./Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life/and they are they which testify to me.—Jesus Christ./Volume I./

ALEXANDER POPE

Triphook, Published by D.A. Boswell &c.

No. 81


AMERICAN LIBRARY
BORRENSTEIN EDITION
The
British Poets.
THE
WORKS
OF
ALEXANDER POPE, ESQ.
in Three Volumes
Vol. 1.
D.A.BORRENSTEIN, PRINCETON PRESS.
1828.

No. 81

DESCENT FROM THE CROSS.

No. 85

THE
HOLY
BIBLE,
&c. &c. &c.
WITH NOTES
BY
THE REV HENRY STEBBING
D.D. M.R.S.L.
London.
D.A. BORRENSTEIN.
PANCRAS LANE CHEAPSIDE.
Drawn & Engd by W.H Lizars Edinr.
1839

No. 85

Princeton, N.J./Published by the Princeton Sunday School Union./ 1828/Borrenstein, printer, Princeton, N.J. [82]

136 pp. 13 cm.

Notice of filing copyright on March 10, 1828, by Harvey Fisk in U.S. District Clerk's office of New Jersey.

NJHS.

Catalogue/of the/officers and students,/of the/Theological Seminary/Princeton, New Jersey./January 1828./D. A. Borrenstein, printer./ [83]

8 pp. 8°.

The 1829 catalogue was printed by Connally & Madden, using type similar to that of Borrenstein.

PTS.

Catalogue/of/the officers and students/of the/Theological Seminary./Princeton, New Jersey. *At bottom:* "Princeton, January 1828. D. A. Borrenstein, Printer." [84]

Folio broadside. 25½×42½ cm.

PTS.

1839–41

The/Holy Bible./Ec Ec Ec/with notes by/the/Rev. Henry Stebbing/D.D. M.R.S.L./London./D. A. Borrenstein/Pancras Lane Cheapside./Drawn and Engraved by W. H. Lizars Edin./1839/ [85]

682 pp. 16 mo.

G. J. Miller.

Frontispiece: full-page plate by Le Sueur—W. H. Lizars: "Descent from the cross."

P. 1, copper plate; p. 2, title-page in Gothic decoration; p. 3, blank; p. 4, preface; p. 5, order of books in Old and New Testaments; pp. 1–471, Old Testament.

P. [475], title: "The/New Testament/of our/Lord and Savior,/Jesus Christ./With/ notes, practical and explanatory,/by the Rev. Henry Stebbing, D.D., M.R.L.S./ Glasgow:/D. A. Borrenstein, St. Enoch Square/and Andrew Moffat, Skinner Street,/ Snow Hill, London,/1841."

P. [475], title; p. [476], blank; p. 477–626, New testament; pp. 627–28, no number; pp. 628–70, The Psalms of David; pp. 671–81: "Translations and paraphrases,/in verse./of several passages of/Sacred scripture," p. 682, hymns.

Edinburgh: printed by Andrew Shortrede, Thistle Lane.

This book is printed from plates in diamond type, three columns to a page. The binding is black, embossed leather.

The British & foreign Bible society on April 9, 1931, wrote that it has no record of this Bible.

THE ENTIRE WORKS

OF

ROBERT BURNS;

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

AND

A CRITICISM ON HIS WRITINGS.

To which are prefixed,

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHARACTER AND CONDITION

OF

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LONDON:

ANDREW MOFFAT, SKINNER STREET; AND

D. A. BORRENSTEIN, GLASGOW.

M.D.CCC.XLII.

No. 87

1841

The/complete works/of/Robert Burns/by/James Currie, M.D./A new edition./London/Andrew Moffat, Skinner Street./& D. A. Borrenstein, Glasgow/1841 [86]

323 pp. 18 mo.

Opposite the engraved title-page is an engraving of "The Cotters Saturday Night." (J. Shury, sculp., and J. W. Wright, del.)

The printed title-page following the engraved title-page reads: "The entire works/of/Robert Burns;/with an/account of his life,/and/a criticism on his writings./To which are prefixed,/some observations on the character and condition/of/the Scottish peasantry./By James Currie, M.D./The four volumes complete in one,/with/an enlarged and corrected glossary./Seventh diamond edition/embellished with/fourteen illustrations from original designs by Mr. Stewart./London.

1842

A reissue of No. 86 having the same lined-off title-pages and collation but with the following addition on the printed title-page after London: "Andrew Moffat, Skinner Street; and/D. A. Borrenstein, Glasgow./M.D.CCC.XLII." [87]

EARLY EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF XEREZ: *VERDADERA RELACION DE LA CONQUISTA DEL PERU*

By Alexander Pogo

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

WHILE working on the 1930 edition[1] of the anonymous *La conquista del Peru*,[2] I realized that many important questions concerning the bibliography of Xerez' *Verdadera relacion*[3] could be answered only after a careful study of the texts of the various editions and translations. Such a study was made in the summer of 1933; the family tree of the editions and translations of Xerez, given in the next section, is one of its results.

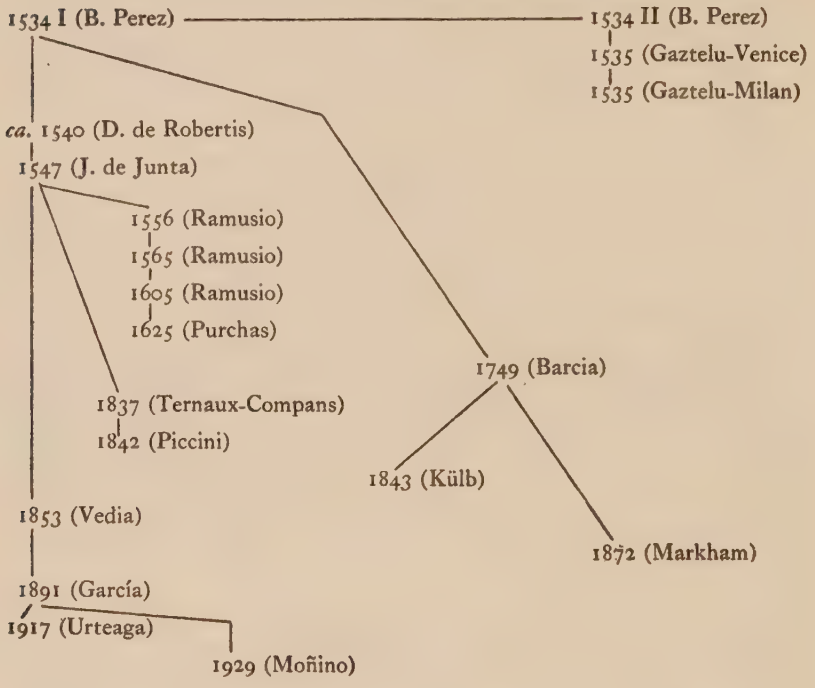
The introduction to the forthcoming critical edition of the *Verdadera relacion* contains a considerable amount of material which is of interest to the bibliographer of sixteenth-century Spanish and Italian books rather than to the student of the text of the Peruvian chronicle. Following Dr. L. C. Wroth's suggestion, the principal results of these typographical investigations are now published separately; a summary of these results will be found in the titles of sections 3–11. The present paper may, therefore, be considered as prolegomena to the forthcoming quatercentenary edition of the *Verdadera relacion*, or, at least, to its introduction.

[1] *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. LXIV, no. 8.

[2] Harrisse 199.

[3] Harrisse 198; Church 70.

2. GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE "VERDADERA RELACION"



3. THE NYPL COPY OF THE 1534 EDITION DIFFERS FROM THE BM, HEHL, AND JCBL COPIES

The number of surviving copies of the original edition—printed in Seville, by Bartolomé Perez, in July, 1534—seems to be limited to four: one in the British Museum and three in the United States. The former Church copy is now in the Henry E. Huntington Library; the John Carter Brown Library copy joined the ranks of known survivors in 1911.

It has hitherto escaped the attention of bibliographers that these four copies are not identical: they belong to two different printings of the first edition. The one in the New York Public Library has the distinction of being the only known copy of the first printing of the first edition of the *Verdadera relacion;* I

designate it as "1534 I." The second printing, to which the three other copies belong, shall be designated as "1534 II." The forthcoming quatercentenary edition reproduces the text of 1534 I; all the important *variae lectiones* of 1534 II and of the later editions are indicated in the footnotes to the text.

The existence, in the eighteenth century, of a copy of 1534 I which must have had a damaged title-page and last leaf, is discussed in section 10. The imaginary "45-leaf" edition is discussed in section 11.

4. SIGNATURE B OF 1534 II, A COLUMN-BY-COLUMN REPRINT OF SIGNATURE B OF 1534 I

During the printing of the 1534 edition of Xerez, an accident happened in Perez' shop; it necessitated a speedy resetting of the entire signature B. Three conjectures as to the reason for this resetting are hereby submitted, in the order of their decreasing probability. Fire, water, or printer's ink may have damaged a considerable number of quires of the original signature B, after the type was distributed. Too large a number of leaves A and C, or too small a number of leaves B, may have been printed. The type of signature B may have been temporarily removed from the presses, and distributed, by mistake, or upset. Whatever the nature of the accident, signature B had to be reset in a hurry. To be certain that the resetting would produce exactly thirty-two columns, and in order to save time, the thirty-two columns of the already printed signature B of 1534 I became independent units which had to be duplicated; and several compositors were put to work simultaneously. As a result of this resetting, we have, in the 1534 II variant, thirty-two columns of signature B which begin and end with the same words as the corresponding columns of signature B of 1534 I.

In addition to very numerous minor changes—punctuation, paragraphing, capitalization, spelling (including the use of contractions)—the resetting of signature B introduced about eighty

changes which affect the syntax, the choice of expressions, etc. Fortunately, the very nature of these changes makes it possible to prove that signature B of 1534 II is farther removed from the original manuscript of Xerez than signature B of 1534 I.

Let us look at some of the changes introduced by the compositor to whom the first three columns, B1r1, B1r2, and B1v1 were assigned, and who is also responsible for the sixth column, B2r2. He replaced, systematically, references to "su magestad" by "sus magestades." Xerez uses, regularly, throughout his chronicle, the singular; the compositor of these four columns insisted, however, on the use of the plural. This compositor also liked simple, everyday words; and he did not hesitate to change "contrarios" to "enemigos," or "poblacion" to "ciudad." Another compositor, who was working, at the same time, on the fourth, seventh, and eighth columns, B1v2, B2v1, and B2v2, left "su magestad" unchanged; the fifth column, B2r1, was also, probably, reset by him.

Column B7r2 may serve as an example of considerable changes introduced by a compositor; the original column, 1534 I, is shown in Figure 1; the reset column, 1534 II, reproduced in Figure 2, shows traces of the interest of a former owner or reader of the BM copy in the Bible-throwing incident which characterized the first meeting of the last Inca with Vicente de Valverde. The change, in line 33, of "no lo sabiendo el gouernador" to "sin que el lo supiesse" makes it possible to interpret "y el la mando boluer" as referring to the padre, not to the governor.

Examples of almost perfect line-by-line resetting are offered by columns B5r1, B5r2, and B6v1; it is probable that they represent the work of the same compositor both in 1534 I and in 1534 II; occasional changes in punctuation, capitalization, spelling, the use of contractions, etc., are quite consistent with this hypothesis. In column B6v1 of 1534 I and 1534 II, reproduced in Figures 3 and 4, respectively, the following changes

rõ y dierõ lugar a los otros. En llegãdo atabaliba en medio de la plaça bizo q̃ todos estuuiessen quedos: y la litera en q̃ el venia y las otras ẽ alto: no cessaua de ẽtrar gẽte en la plaça. De la ó lantera salio vn capitã y subio en la fuerça de la plaça ỏde estaua el artilleria: y alço dos veces vna lãça a manera de seña. El gouernador: que esto vió dixo al padre frey Vincẽte: q̃ si q̃ria yr a hablar a Atabaliba cõ vn farautẽ: El otro q̃ si y fue cõ vna cruz en la mano y con su biblia en la otra: y ẽtro por ẽtre la gẽte hasta ỏde atabaliba estaua y le dixo por el farautẽ. Yo soy sacerdote ó Dios: y ẽseño a los christianos las cosas ó Dios: y assi mesmo vẽgo a ẽseñar a vosotros Lo q̃ yo enseño es lo q̃ Dios nos habla en este libro. Y por tanto de parte de Dios y de los christianos te ruego q̃ seas su amigo: porq̃ assi lo quiere Dios: y venir te ha biẽ dello: y ve a hablar al gouernador q̃ te esta esperãdo. Atabaliba dixo q̃ le diesse el libro pa ver le: el se lo dio cerrado. y no acertãdo a ataliba a abrir le el religioso estẽdio el braço pa lo abrir: y Atabaliba cõ grã despden le dio vn golpe en el braço no queriẽdo q̃ lo abriesse: y porfiando el mesmo por abrir le lo abrio: y no marauillãdose ó las letras ni ól papel como otros indios lo arroio cinco o seys passos ó si. Y a las palabras q̃ el religioso auia dicho por el farautẽ respõdio con mucha soberuia diziendo: biẽ se lo q̃ auers hecho por esse camino: como auers tratado a mis caciq̃s: y tomado la ropa ó los bohios. El religioso respõdio los christianos no hã hecho esto: q̃ vnos indios trurerõ ropa no lo sabiẽdo el gouernador y el la mãdo boluer. Atabaliba dixo no partire ó ag basta q̃ toda me la traygã: el religioso boluio cõ la respuesta al gouernador: Atabaliba se puso en pie ẽcima ó las ãdas hablando a los suyos q̃ estuuiessen apcebidos. El religioso dixo al gouernador: todo lo q̃ auia passado cõ Atabaliba: y q̃ auia echado en tierra la sagrada scriptura. Luego el gouernador se armo vn sayo de armas de algodon: y tomo su espada y adarga: y cõ los escañoles q̃ cõ el estauã ẽtro por medio ó los indios: y cõ mucho animo cõ solos q̃tro bohios q̃ le pudierõ seguir llego basta la litera ỏde atabaliba estaua: y sin temor le echo mano ól braço diziendo Santiago: Luego soltarõ los tiros y tocarõ las trõpetas: y salio la gẽte de pie y de cauallo. Como los indios vierõ el tropel ó los caualleros buyeron muchos de aquellos q̃ en la plaça

Fig. 1

rõ se y dierõ lugar a los otros. En llegãdo Atabaliba en medio de la plaça bizo q̃ todos estuuiessen q̃dos: y la litera en q̃ el venia y las otras en alto. no cessaua de ẽtrar gẽte en la plaça. De la delãtera salio vn capitã y subio en la fuerça ó la plaça donde estaua el artilleria: y alço dos veces vna lãça a manera de seña. El gouernador q̃ esto vio dixo al padre frey Vincẽte: q̃ si q̃ria yr a hablar a Atabaliba cõ vn farautẽ. El otro q̃ si y fue cõ vna cruz en la mano: y cõ la biblia en la otra: y ẽtro por ẽtre la gẽte hasta ỏde Atabaliba estaua: y le dixo por el farautẽ. Yo soy sacerdote de Dios: y enseño a los christianos las cosas ó Dios: y assi mesmo vẽgo a ẽseñar a vosotros. Lo q̃ yo enseño es lo q̃ Dios nos habla en este libro. Y por tanto de parte de Dios y de los christianos te ruego q̃ seas su amigo: porque assi lo quiere Dios: y venir te ha bien dello. y ve a hablar al gouernador q̃ te esta esperãdo. Atrabaliba dixo q̃ le diesse el libro para ver le: el se lo dio cerrado: y no acertãdo Atabaliba a abrirle el religioso estẽdio el braço pa lo abrir: y Atabaliba cõ grã desdẽ le dio vn golpe en el braço: no q̃riẽdo q̃ lo abriesse: y porfiando el mesmo a abrir lo lo abrio: y no marauillãdo se de las letras ni del papel como otros indios lo arroio cinco o seys passos ó si. Y a las palabras q̃ el religioso auia dicho por el farautẽ respõdio cõ mucha soberuia diziẽdo: bien se lo q̃ auers hecho por esse camino: como auers tratado a mis caciq̃s: y tomado la ropa de los bohios. el religioso respondio los christianos no hã hecho esto: q̃ vnos indios trurerõ ropa sin q̃ el lo supiesse: y el la mando boluer. Atrabaliba dixo no partire ó aqui basta q̃ toda me la traygã. El religioso boluio cõ la respuesta al gouernador. atabaliba se puso en pie encima de las ãdas: hablãdo a los suyos que estuuiessen apcebidos. El religioso dixo al gouernador: todo lo q̃ auia passado cõ atabaliba: y q̃ auia echado en tierra la sagrada scriptura. Luego el gouernador se armo vn sayo de armas de algodõ: y tomo su espada y adarga: y con los escañoles q̃ cõ el estauã ẽtro por medio ó los idios y cõ mucho animo cõ solos q̃tro bohees q̃ le pudierõ seguir allego basta la litera ỏde Atrabaliba estaua: y sin temor le echo mano del braço diziẽdo Santiago. Luego soltarõ los tiros: y tocarõ las trõpetas: y salio la gẽte de pie y de cauallo. Como los indios vierõ el tropel ó los caualleros buyeron muchos de aq̃llos que en la plaça

Fig. 2

Fig. 1.—Column B7r2 of 1534 I. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the New York Public Library.)

Fig. 2.—Column B7r2 of 1534 II. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the British Museum.)

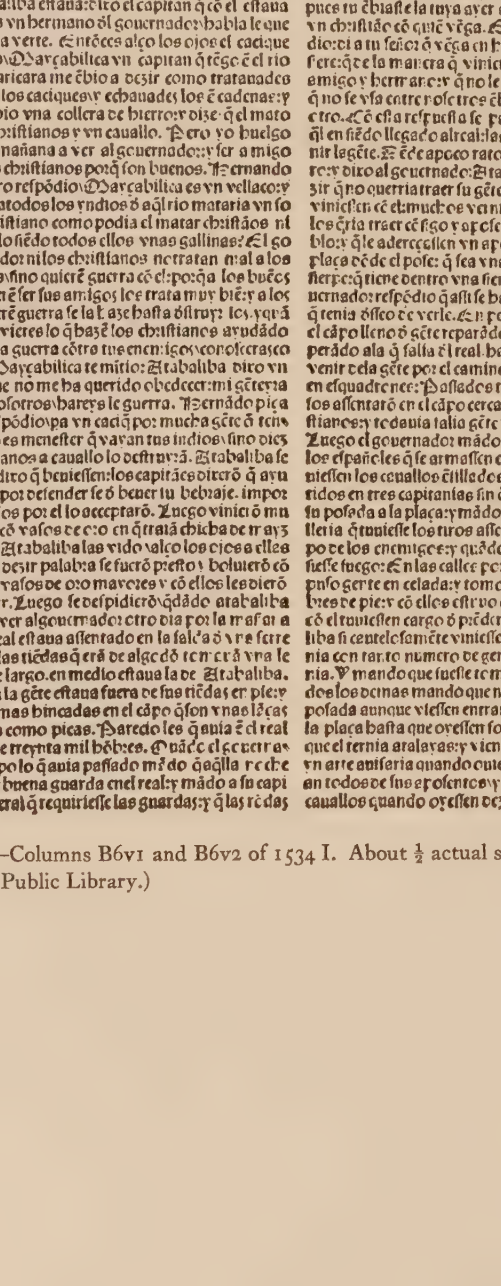
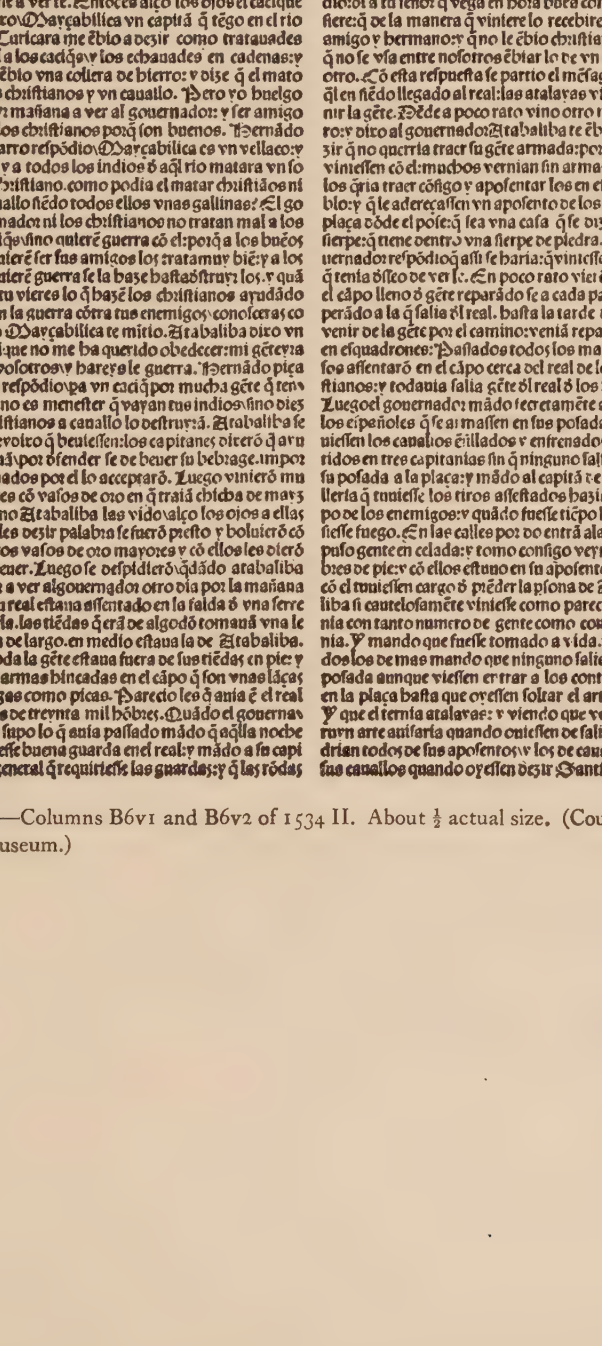


Fig. 3.—Columns B6v1 and B6v2 of 1534 I. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the New York Public Library.)



fino vn principal suyo respodia a lo q el capitan hablaua. En esto llego el otro capitā: a dōde el primero auia dexado la gēte: y pregūtoles por el capitā. dixerō le q hablaua cō el cacique. dexādo alli la gēte: passo el rio: y llegādo cerca de donde Atabaliba estaua: dixo el capitan q cō el estaua este es vn hermano ō el gouernador: habla le que viene a ver te. Entōces alço los ojos el cacique y dixo Marçabillica vn capitā q tēgo en el rio de Turicara me ēbio a dezir como tratauades mal a los cadāes: y los echauades en cadenas: y me ēbio vna collera de hierro: y dize q el mato tres christianos y vn cauallo. Pero yo huelgo de vi mañana a ver al gouernador: y ser amigo de los christianos porq son buenos. Despedido picarro respodio Marçabilica es vn vellaco: y a el y a todos los indios ō aql rio matara vn solo christiano. como podia el matar christianos ni cauallo siēdo todos ellos vnas gallinas? El gouernador: ni los christianos no traran mal a los cadāes: sino quiere guerra cō el: porq a los buenos q quiere ser sus amigos los tratarnuy biē: y a los q quiere guerra se la haze bastaāstruyr los. y quādo tu vieres lo q hazē los christianos ayudādo te en la guerra cōtra tus enemigos: conosceras como Marçabillica te mirtio. Atabaliba dixo vn cacique no me ha querido obedecer: mi gēte ria cō vosotros: y hareys le guerra. Despedido picarro respodio pa vn cacique: por mucha gēte q tengauno es menester q vayan tus indios: sino diez christianos a cauallo lo destruyrā. Atabaliba se rio: y otro q beuiessen: los capitanes dixerō q auria nadā: por ofender se de beuer su bebrage. impor tunados por el lo acceptarō. Luego vinierō mu geres cō vasos de oro en q traiā chicha de mayz como Atabaliba las vido alço los ojos a ellas sin les dezir palabra se fuerō presto y boluierō cō otros vasos de oro mayores y cō ellos les dierō a beuer. Luego se despidierō dādo atabaliba ō vn a ver al gouernador otro dia por la mañana Su real estaua assentado en la falda ō vna serre zuela. las tiēdas q erā de algodō tomauā vna le gua de largo. en medio estaua la de Atabaliba. Toda la gēte estaua fuera de sus tiēdas en pie: y las armas hincadas en el cāpo q son vnas lāças largas como picas. Parecio les q auia q el real mas de treynta mil hōbres. Quādo el gouerna dor supo lo q auia passado mādo q aq̄lla noche ouiesse buena guarda en el real: y mādo a su capi tā general q requiriesse las guardas: y q las rōdas

ā durmiessen toda la noche al derredor del real: lo q̄l assi se hizo. Venido el dia sabado por la ma ñana llego al gouernador vn mēsagero de Ata baliba y le dixo de su parte: mi señor te ēbia a de zir q̄ quiere venir a verte: y traer su gēte armada pues tu ēbiaste la tuya ayer armada: y q̄ le ēbies vn christiāo cō quiē vēga. El gouernador respō dio: ot a tu señor q̄ vēga en hora buēa como qui siere: q̄ de la manera q̄ viniere lo recebire como amigo y hermano: y q̄no le ēbio christiano: por q̄ no se vsa entre nosotros ēbiar lo de vn señor a otro. Cō esta respuesta se partio el mēsagero: el q̄l en siēdo llegado al real: las atalayas vierō ve nir la gēte. Dēde a poco rato vino otro mēsage ro: y dixo al gouernador Atabaliba te ēbia a de zir q̄ no querria traer su gēte armada: porq̄ auiq̄ viniessen cō el: muchos vernian sin armas: porq̄ los q̄ria traer cōsigo y apossentar los en este pue blo: y q̄ le adereçassen vn aposento de los de esta plaça dōde el pose: q̄ sea vna casa q̄ se dize de la fierpe: q̄ tiene dentro vna fierpe de piedra. El go uernador respodio q̄ assi se haria: q̄ viniesse presto q̄ tenia dēseo de ver le. En poco rato vieō ver si el cāpo lleno ō gēte reparādo se a cada passo es perādo a la q̄ salia āl real. basta la tarde otro a venir de la gēte por el camino: venia repartidos en esquadrones. Passados todos los malos pas sos assentarō en el cāpo cerca del real de los chri stianos: y todauia salia gēte ōl real ō los indios Luego el gouernador mādo secretamēte a todos los espeñoles q̄ se armassen en sus posadas y tu uiessen los caualios ēllados y enfrenados repar tidos en tres capitanias sin q̄ ninguno saliesse de su posada a la plaça: y mādo al capitā de la arti lleria q̄ tuuiesse los tiros assestados hazia el cāp po de los enemigos: y quādo fuesse tiēpo les pus siesse fuego. En las calles por do entrā ala plaça puso gente en celada: y como consigo veynte ē bres de pie: y cō ellos estuuo en su aposento: porq̄ cō el tuuiessen cargo ō prēder la psona de Ataba liba si cautelosamēte viniesse como parecia q̄ ve nia con tanto numero de gente como con el ve nia. Y mando que fuesse tomado a vida. y a tos dos los de mas mando que ninguno saliesse ō su posada aunque viessen entrar a los contrarios en la plaça basta que oyessen soltar el artilleria Y que el ternia atalayas: y viendo que venia de rurn arte auisaria quando ouiesen de salir: y sal driā todos de sus aposentos y los de caua'lo en sus caualios quando oyessen dezir Santiago.

Fig. 4.—Columns B6v1 and B6v2 of 1534 II. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the British Museum.)

may be pointed out: line 17, "indios" instead of "yndios," and "matara" for "mataria"; line 18, "christianos" for "christanos"; line 18 from the bottom, "bebrage" for "bebraje." Column B6v2 was reset by the same skilful compositor; Figure 3 shows that there is space for five or six letters at the end of the column, after "Santiago"; Figure 4 shows that, in order to fill this blank, the compositor deliberately discontinued the line-by-line resetting when he reached the sixth line from the bottom; he thus managed to reduce the terminal blank to one space.

There are other columns which can be assigned to compositors whose skill, spelling, vocabulary, syntax, *horror vacui*, etc., can be easily recognized.

5. GAZTELU'S 1535 TRANSLATION, THE ONLY DIRECT DESCENDANT OF 1534 II

The evidence of haste with which signature B was reset justifies the assumption that the 1534 II variant appeared on the market either at the same time as 1534 I, i.e., in July, 1534, or a few weeks later. We have positive proof that the 1534 II variant was available to the public not later than March, 1535: the Venetian translation made by Dominico de Gaztelu,[4] and published in March, 1535, is based on 1534 II. Although the process of translation obliterated most of the discrepancies between 1534 I and 1534 II, enough evidence is left to show unambiguously that Gaztelu's original was a copy of 1534 II. A few sample quotations will suffice:

B2r1	1534 I	... que vna junta ...
	1534 II	... que cierta junta ...
	Gaztelu	... che cierta congiuratione ...
B3r1	1534 I	... haze en ellos grandes crueldades ...
	1534 II	... haze en ellos muchas crueldades ...
	Gaztelu	... fa molte crudelita in loro ...
B7r2	1534 I	... no lo sabiendo el gouernador ...
	1534 II	... sin que el lo supiesse ...
	Gaztelu	... senza che lui lo sapesse ...

[4] Harrisse 200.

It is to be regretted that the *Libro ultimo del summario*[5] does not permit us to substitute October, 1534, for March, 1535, as the *terminus ante quem* for the "release" date of 1534 II. The *Libro ultimo del summario* contains numerous interpolations borrowed from the *Verdadera relacion*, especially from signature B, but the translation is often too free, and the longest passages happen to be so selected that it is impossible to decide whether 1534 I or 1534 II was used, for interpolation purposes, by the unknown translator of the anonymous *La conquista del Peru*.

The only reprint of Gaztelu's Venetian version known to me appeared in Milan,[6] in 1535. Both the Ramusio and the Piccini translations have been considered as reprints of Gaztelu by bibliographers who, apparently, were not familiar with these three Italian translations. The Ramusio translation is dealt with in section 9 of the present paper. The Piccini translation (1842) may be disposed of here. It is almost incredible that with two sixteenth-century Italian translations at his disposal, Piccini chose to translate the French version made by Ternaux-Compans—and to appropriate the Frenchman's valuable footnotes—without even mentioning the existence of Ternaux-Compans' book and without stating that his own translation was not made from the Spanish.

It is worth mentioning, in this connection, that Ternaux-Compans made occasional use of the Gaztelu version—and admits it, just as he admits that his source, the Salamanca edition of 1547, has many corrupt passages which he translated with the aid of Gaztelu's version. Ternaux-Compans is, by the way, the only one among the nineteenth-century translators and editors of Xerez who frankly stated his sources; the statements of all the others are either ambiguous or directly misleading, as is shown in the introduction to the quatercentenary edition.

[5] Harrisse 190.

[6] Harrisse 201.

6. THE UNDATED HUTH-CLEMENTS COPY, A REPRINT OF 1534 I

The success of the two Peruvian chronicles—the anonymous *La conquista* and Xerez' *Verdadera relacion*—published by Bartolomé Perez, in 1534, was great. No less than four Italian editions—two translations published in Venice; and two typographically inferior reprints published beyond the borders "del nostro dominio," in Milan and in Rome—appeared before the middle of 1535. We shall see, in section 8, that in the year 1547 a copy of the 1534 edition of Xerez could not be obtained in Salamanca. It is not surprising, therefore, that a few years after the appearance of the *Verdadera relacion* the need for a new edition of the recent "best-seller" became apparent. And a printer who did not care to reveal his identity published a new edition.

If it were not for the apparently unique WLCL (William L. Clements Library) copy,[7] we would have no direct evidence that such an edition actually appeared. This copy is a precious link between the Seville 1534 I edition and the Salamanca edition of 1547. The following sample quotation is one of the numerous proofs of the statement that the undated edition followed 1534 I:

B6r2	1534 I	... le dixo por la lengua o faraute que lleuaua que era ...
	1534 II	... le dixo por la lengua o faraute que era ...
c1r	WLCL	... le dixo por la lengua, o faraute que lleuaua que era ...

The words "que lleuaua," omitted in 1534 II (on account of lack of space at the bottom of column B6r2), appear in the undated edition, because it follows 1534 I, not 1534 II.

The anonymous printer introduced considerable changes affecting the spelling, capitalization, punctuation, etc., of his typographically inferior reprint. Unfortunately, he is also responsible for a considerable amount of omissions, additions, and alterations which were inherited by the 1547 edition and its

[7] Harrisse Add. 162; Huth, V, 1627–28.

numerous descendants. I shall quote just one typical omission which changes the meaning of the sentence; this omission belongs to the "repetition-jump" type, i.e., it is caused by the repetition of the same word—of the word "noche" in our example:

1534 C7r1 ... y que todos los de cauallo rondassen toda la noche *haziendo tres quartos cada noche:* y en cada quarto rondauan cincuenta de cauallo; y en el del alua todos ciento y cincuenta.

The italicized words are missing in the WLCL copy; this omission is just a sample of many defects inherited by the 1547, 1853, 1891, 1917, and 1929 editions.

7. PLACE AND DATE OF THE SECOND EDITION: SEVILLE, DOMINICO DE ROBERTIS, *ca* 1540

In order to identify the anonymous printer of the Huth-Clements copy, I started a comparison of the border blocks of its title-page with the border blocks of other books printed in Spain between 1534 and 1547. I am indebted to Miss Clara L. Penney for her collaboration in this search; it was her suggestion that Dominico de Robertis might be the printer of the WLCL copy which oriented my search in the right direction. I compared the type, the three ornamental initials, and the title-page of the WLCL copy with all the accessible copies of books printed by Dominico de Robertis; I also inspected the published reproductions of his title-pages. The results of this investigation could be summarized as follows: the Huth-Clements copy was printed in Seville, in the shop of Dominico de Robertis, about 1540—possibly as early as 1537, certainly not later than 1541. The identifying criteria—type, ornamental initials, and border blocks—occur, separately or in various combinations, in the following books printed by Dominico de Robertis; the list is arranged chronologically, and is necessarily incomplete; the spelling of the names—not of the titles—is modernized:

1537 Ambrosio Montesino. *Cancionero de diversas obras.*
1539 Ruy Diaz de Isla. *Tractado contra el mal serpentino.*

1541 Miguel Savonarola. *Regimiento de sanidad.*
1542 ———. *Cronica del noble cauallero el conde Fernan Gonçalez.*
1542 Christoval de Villalon. *Prouechoso tratado de cambios.*
1543 Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza. *Refranes que dizen las viejas.*
1543 ———. *Refranes glosados.*
1544 Paris de Puteo. *Libro llamado batalla de dos.*

The title-page of the Huth-Clements copy is reproduced in Figure 5; the title-pages of Montesino, Savonarola, and Lopez de Mendoza are reproduced in Figures 6, 7, and 8, respectively.[8]

The approximate date of the WLCL copy was derived from the state of preservation of the border blocks. In spite of the occurrence of spurious defects, i.e., of "bald spots" due to poor inking or to uneven pressure, there remains a definite possibility of dating the title-page of the WLCL copy by the gradual wearing-out of the border blocks, especially of their edges and corners.

A comparison of the bottom block of Figures 5 and 8 suggests that the Huth-Clements copy was printed before 1543, when the edge near the dragon's head was still intact.

The reality of the defect near the serpent's tail in the bottom block of Figure 7 can be checked by comparison with the facsimile of the title-page of another copy[9] of the same book, reproduced in Vindel's *Manual*, no. 2817. Additional confirmation is furnished by the top block of the title-page of Villalon's *Prouechoso tratado de cambios* (I have seen the Hispanic Society copy). If we assume the identity of this block with the top block of the Huth-Clements title-page, we may draw the conclusion that the undated copy was printed not later than in 1541.

The identity of the left border block of Figure 5 with the left block of Figure 6, and with the right block of Figure 7 cannot

[8] I have trimmed the margins of the photostats reproduced in Figures 5 and 7, in order to combine a uniform scale with a minimum of reduction.

[9] Vindel could have removed the ownership marks, but he could not have changed the heavy inking of the title-page of the Hispanic Society copy.

be doubted. Figure 6 proves, incidentally, that the conspicuous defect—partly obliterated by ink on the WLCL title-page—was there as early as 1537. Figure 7 shows a defect in the center of the other side of the frame of this block, just opposite the right-hand lower corner of the central woodcut; in Figure 6 this defect is less conspicuous; in Figure 5 it is invisible. This would indicate that the WLCL copy was printed before the Montesino book. On the other hand, the apparently real defects on the right border block of Figure 5 seem to indicate that the WLCL copy was printed after the Montesino book. The statement that it was printed about 1540 is, therefore, justified: the date could not be later than 1541, and it is probable that 1537 (the Montesino date) is within a year of the real date of publication of the undated second edition of Xerez.

There remains the question of the missing imprint. If we assumed, for the sake of argument, that the second edition of Xerez was published before 1537, by an anonymous printer who subsequently sold his equipment to Dominico de Robertis, we could not account for the striking similarity of the layout of the title-pages of the WLCL copy and of typical De Robertis publications. The problem of the missing imprint appears, however, in a different light, if it is linked with the problem of the omitted biographical stanzas and if we assume that the WLCL copy was actually printed in the shop of Dominico de Robertis, with equipment belonging to him. Dominico de Robertis was a reputable printer; his name appears, along with the names of Bartolomé Perez and of other "libreros e ynprimidores," in an important document[10] concerning the widow and sons of Juan Cromberger, and signed July 11, 1542. It is improbable that Dominico de Robertis should be responsible for our pirated edition. It is not impossible, however, that the imprint was omitted from the second edition of Xerez because Dominico de

[10] José Gestoso y Pérez, *Noticias inéditas de impresores sevillanos* (Seville, 1924), pp. 103–4.

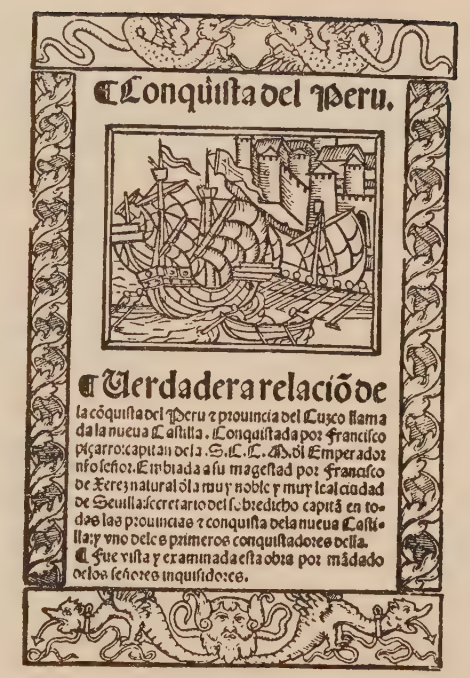

Conquista del Peru.
Verdadera relacion de
la conquista del Peru y prouincia del Cuzco llama
da la nueua Castilla. Conquistada por Francisco
Pizarro: capitan de la S. C. R. M. del Emperador
nro señor. Embiada a su magestad por Francisco
de Xerez natural desta muy noble y muy leal ciudad
de Seuilla: secretario del dicho capitan en to-
das las prouincias y conquista dela nueua Casti-
lla: y vno delos primeros conquistadores della.
Fue vista y examinada esta obra por mandado
delos señores inquisidores.

Fig. 5

Cancionero de diuersas
obras de nueuo trobadas: todas compuestas y
trobadas por el muy reuerendo padre Fray
Ambrosio montesino obispo de Cer
dena dela orden delos meno-
res: añadido.

Fig. 6

Fig. 5.—Title-page of the second edition of Xerez [Seville: Dominico de Robertis, *ca.* 1540]. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the Wm. L. Clements Library.)

Fig. 6.—Title-page of Montesino, *Cancionero.* Seville: Dominico de Robertis, 1537. About ½ actual size. (From Lyell, *Early book illustration in Spain*, Fig. 142.)

Regimiento de sani
dad de todas las cosas q̃ se comen y beuen con
muchos consejos. Cõpuesto por el excelente me-
dico maestre Miguel Sauonarola de ferrara in
terpretado de lengua latina: y Italiana en lengua
Castellana por el prothonotario fernan flores ca
nonigo de la yglesia collegial de Xerez dela fron
tera dirigido al yllustrissimo y muy excelente se-
ñor don Juan de Guzman Duque de Medina
Sidonia y Cõde de Niebla. Año de.

Iñigo lopes de mẽdo-
ça por mandado del Rey don Juan ordeno el
los refranes que dizen las viejas trae el fuego
y van ordenados por la orden del A.B.C.
A
Buey viejo no cates abrigo.
A buen callar llaman sancho:
A pan duro diente agudo
A chica cama echate en medio
A caballo comedor cabestro corto.

FIG. 7 FIG. 8

FIG. 7.—Title-page of Savonarola, *Regimiento*. Seville: Dominico de Robertis, 1541. About ½ actual size. (Courtesy of the Hispanic Society of America.)

FIG. 8.—Title-page of Lopez de Mendoza, *Refranes*. Seville: Dominico de Robertis, 1543. About ½ actual size. (From Vindel, *Manual*, no. 1501.)

Robertis had nothing to do with its publication—an enterprising and unscrupulous employee might have taken advantage of his illness or temporary absence.

The omission of the biographical stanzas 10–21, and of the six-line reference to the hidalgo who tried to defend the "maltreated honor" of Xerez, seem to be a direct result of the very circumstances which originally made these stanzas necessary, namely, of the personal unpopularity of Xerez prevailing in Seville. The name of a certain Francisco Xerez, a citizen of Cuzco, is mentioned in a *carta de donacion*[11] signed in Los Reyes (Lima), on September 26, 1537. There was but one Francisco de Xerez among the original conquistadores. The creditor of Francisco Xerez, citizen of Cuzco, owned houses in the plaza of Los Reyes, adjoining the property of Hernando Pizarro. Was Francisco Xerez, citizen of Cuzco, a new person in the New World? Or did the former secretary of the governor, realizing that he could not win the good will of the Sevillians by philanthropic and philecclesiastic activities, return to Peru and settle down in Cuzco? If he did, then the omission of the biographical stanzas and of the reference to his friend, the versifying hidalgo, should not surprise us: the unscrupulous man who was responsible for the edition printed anonymously in Dominico de Robertis' shop displayed good business judgment by omitting the glorification of the absent and unpopular author of the popular "Western story" of "true adventure," hoping thereby not to antagonize the prospective buyers of his book.

8. THE SALAMANCA 1547 EDITION, A REPRINT OF THE DE ROBERTIS EDITION

In 1547, Juan de Junta was publishing Oviedo's *La hystoria general de las Indias;*[12] and it was but natural to reprint, on this

[11] The Harkness collection in the Library of Congress, *Calendar of Spanish manuscripts concerning Peru, 1531–1651* (prepared by S. R. Clemence, Washington, 1932), p. 56.

[12] Harrisse Add. 163.

occasion, the *Verdadera relacion*, to annex some copies of it to Oviedo's work,[13] and to sell the remainder as a separate book.[14]

In 1547 no copies of the 1534 edition were, apparently, obtainable in Salamanca. Juan de Junta had to use the de Robertis reprint. The omission mentioned in section 6 and inherited by the 1547 edition is one of numerous proofs that the Salamanca edition is a reprint of the De Robertis reprint, not of the 1534 edition. Considerable changes in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, etc., appear in the 1547 edition—they must be credited to the Salamanca typesetters. Very numerous omissions, additions, and alterations were also introduced—the Salamanca proofreaders, if any, deserve no credit for that; it was apparently taken for granted that reprinting a book was a simple task, as compared with the printing of a manuscript. I shall quote a few typical omissions which detract considerably from the value of the 1547 text—and of all the editions and translations based upon it. The first example illustrates the familiar "repetition jump":

WLCL b3v ... los señores destos pueblos dizen que el Cuzco viejo posaua en estas casas quando yua *camino. La gente desta tierra salio de paz. Otro dia* camino por vna tierra arenosa y seca ...

The italicized words were omitted in the 1547 edition and its descendants; we shall see, in section 9, how Ramusio attempted to make the best of the situation.

As a second example, I shall quote one of the numerous "end-of-line jumps"; this type of omission occurs when the end of a line (or column, or page) is reached, in the original or in the reprint or in both; the omitted part of a sentence does not necessarily form a complete line:

WLCL c3v ... y le fizo vestir y as*sentar cerca de* | si aplacando le del enojo ...

1547 12r2 ... y le hizo vestir y as | si aplacando le del enojo ...

[13] Harrisse 278.

[14] Harrisse 277.

The last example, an "end-of-line" omission, illustrates the "dropping" of a line at the end of a page:

WLCL c7v ... y mando derribar la cerca de la plaça porque era baxa; y *mando hazer otra mas alta. En quatro dias* fue hecha de tapias de altura de dos estados ...

Column 14v2 of the Salamanca edition ends with "baxa: y," while column 15r1 begins with "fue hecha," which makes a complete sentence but omits the essential information concerning the time element; the italicized words, forming a complete line in the 1547 type, were "dropped"—probably, after having been set.

The Salamanca edition, whose importance is shown by the family tree, was a careless reprint of the careless De Robertis reprint.

The woodcut on the title-page of the Salamanca edition of Xerez will be discussed in a separate paper, in connection with the identification of the anonymous printer of the *Primer libro de don Polindo* (Toledo, April 10, 1526). The Salamanca woodcut is similar to, but not identical with, the one used on the title-pages of at least two books printed in Toledo in 1526; the other book is Eguia's edition of *El Cid*. These woodcuts are related to an illustration which appeared in the *Suma de todas las cronicas del mundo* (Valencia: Costilla, 1510).

9. RAMUSIO'S 1556 TRANSLATION IS BASED ON THE 1547 EDITION

Ramusio did not reprint the Gaztelu translation. His *Navigationi et viaggi*[15] contain a completely independent translation of the *Verdadera relacion*, made from the Salamanca edition. A glance at the text of the *Navigationi* ought to destroy the belief in the Gaztelu legend. It is easy to prove that Ramusio used a copy of the Salamanca edition; apparently, no copies of the Seville editions could be obtained.

[15] *Terzo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1556).

The omissions which originated in the Salamanca edition were inherited by the Ramusio translation; this proves their relationship. Let us look at an example of Ramusio's skilful emendation of a corrupt passage; I refer to the "camino-camino" "repetition jump" quoted in section 8:

1556 384r ... quando andaua di camino per questi luoghi. II Pizarro segui il suo viaggio per vna terra arenosa è secca ...

The lost sentence, "la gente desta tierra salio de paz," and the loss of a day due to the omission of "otro dia" could not, obviously, be restored by Ramusio; but he saved the second part of the mutilated sentence—a feat none of the later Spanish editors cared to accomplish.

The 1565 edition of the *Navigationi* contains, of course, a reprint of the 1556 translation. The edition of 1605 inherited the alterations and misprints introduced by this reprint, and is, therefore, based on the 1565—not on the 1556—edition. It might be added here that *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625) contains an abbreviated English version of the Ramusio translation.

10. An Eighteenth-Century Second Edition: Barcia's Reprint of 1534 I

A survey of the early editions of Xerez would remain incomplete without a reference to Barcia's eighteenth-century second edition, which is independent from De Robertis' second edition. When I found that Barcia[16] used a copy of 1534 I, I made a complete collation of the two texts, in order to eliminate the possibility of the existence, in the eighteenth century, of still another variant of the 1534 edition. This collation established the fact that there existed, in the eighteenth century, a copy of the first printing of the first edition which had exactly the same text as the NYPL copy. The damaged title-page and last leaf of Barcia's copy of 1534 I will be discussed below.

The "survival ratio" of 1534 I and 1534 II copies was, there-

[16] *Historiadores primitivos de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1749), Vol. III.

fore, at least 2:3 in the first half of the eighteenth century; in the beginning of the twentieth century the "survival ratio" of copies known to bibliographers was 1:2; the appearance, in 1911, of the JCBL copy of 1534 II changed the ratio to 1:3. This steadily declining ratio increases the relative rarity of the NYPL copy; a glance at the family tree reproduced in section 2 shows the fecundity of 1534 I as compared to 1534 II.

The Barcia edition uses eighteenth-century spelling and fancy capitalization, and italicizes speeches quoted directly or indirectly. The changes never affect more than a word or two, and ought to be classified as emendations. Some of these emendations are profound enough to affect the meaning of the original sentences; others affect their form only. Their bibliographical importance lies in the fact that they permit us to trace two nineteenth-century translations to their real source: both the German translation by Külb and the English version by Markham happen to follow Barcia's text; both translators were, however, ashamed to admit that they used an eighteenth-century source, and made their readers believe that they had access to sixteenth-century editions; they did not realize the value of Barcia's text.

The problem of the damaged title-page and of the repaired last leaf of Barcia's copy of 1534 I may now be discussed. Unlike the other reprints in Barcia's collection, the text of the *Verdadera relacion* is not preceded by its complete title. It begins, on page 179, after the simple title, CONQUISTA DEL PERU| DE FRANCISCO DE XEREZ. The catchword at the bottom of page 176 is VER-, obviously announcing the full title, VERDADERA RELACION, etc., which was scheduled to appear on page 177. In all the copies of Barcia's Volume III accessible to me, the pages 177 and 178 are missing; an analytical index on twenty-eight unnumbered pages is inserted between pages 176 and179; the independent nature of the index is best revealed in the large-paper edition, where the index appears as an obvious interpolation not contemplated at the time of the printing of the

collection itself. We may therefore assume that, in the original scheme, a reproduction of the title-page of the 1534 edition was to appear on page 177—if a copy with a well-preserved woodcut on the title-page could be found; this hope did not materialize, and pages 177 and 178 were omitted. In the general index, at the beginning of Volume I of Barcia's collection, the title of the *Verdadera relacion* is given as follows: "Verdadera Relacion de la Conquista del Perù, y Provincia del Cuzco, embiada al Emperador Carlos V. por Francisco de Xerèz."

The title-page of the 1534 edition is a separate leaf preceding signature A; even if we assume that it was printed on a regular folio, the blank half could not have served both as a protection for the illustrated title-page and as a back cover . In the case of Barcia's copy of the 1534 I edition, both the title-page and the last leaf seem to have been in a precarious state of preservation. To save the last leaf, C8, one of the previous owners mounted it, apparently, on a sheet of paper or on a piece of cardboard, using it as an end paper of a simplified binding. Such a method of preserving leaf C8 would, of course, obliterate the three columns of stanzas printed on the verso. When Barcia was reprinting the *Verdadera relacion*, he could read, on the recto of C8, the important six lines introducing the versifying hidalgo, the full title of the piece of poetry, and the first six stanzas. From one of the numerous surviving copies of the 1547 edition, Barcia copied the stanzas 7–9. The hypothesis of a leaf C8 mounted on a protective piece of paper or cardboard would, thus, give a simple answer to the question: Why does the Barcia edition contain the six introductory lines missing in the 1547 edition, and the unabridged 1534 title of the poem, but omit, like the Salamanca edition, the important biographical stanzas 10–21? This hypothesis of an obliterated page C8v in a dilapidated copy with a damaged title-page is much simpler than the alternative hypothesis postulating a third variant of the 1534 edition, a variant with the text of 1534 I but without the biographical stanzas.

II. THE "45-LEAF" EDITION OF 1534, A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MIRAGE

"Fué acabada de reimprimir la presente obra llamada la *Conquista del Perú* en la Muy Heroica Villa de Madrid en el establecimiento tipográfico de Juan Cayetano García, á veintiseis de Febrero de mil ochocientos noventa y uno." This colophon places the responsibility for the fateful 1891 edition on García; the name of the publisher does not appear on the title-page reproduced in our Figure 9; the biographical and bibliographical notices are unsigned. The deplorable fact that the editions of 1917 and 1929 are reprints of the worthless 1891 edition makes it an important item in the bibliography of Xerez. Its extravagant claim, "segun la primera edicion impresa en Sevilla en 1534," entitles it to a discussion in this paper; a complete study of its relations to the Vedia edition will be found in the introduction to the quatercentenary edition of Xerez.

The fantastic title-page reproduced here in Figure 10 appears on page 7 of the 1891 edition. Page 6 is blank. On page 5 we read the following clearly worded statement: "Reproducimos á continuacion la portada de la primera edicion hecha en Seuilla el año de 1534 en letra gótica." On pages 13 and 14 we find a "noticia bibliográfica por orden cronológico de las ediciones que se han hecho de esta obra en español, italiano, francés é inglés." This bibliography consists of nine items and is full of mistakes and misprints; it reveals the editor's ignorance of the existence of Harrisse 198 (NYPL copy), Harrisse Add. 162 (WLCL copy), and of the Piccini translation; and it does not mention—intentionally, as we shall see—Vedia's 1853 edition. The first item of this "noticia bibliográfica" reads as follows: "1.ª edición. *Verdadera relacion de la conquista del Perú*, fecha por Francisco de Xerez; en Sevilla, por Bartolomé Perez, 1534, folio gótico, 45 hojas sin numeracion." No other Seville edition is mentioned.

The trusting reader is expected to believe that the curious

VERDADERA RELACION

DE LA

Conquista del Perú

POR

FRANCISCO DE XEREZ

UNO DE LOS PRIMEROS CONQUISTADORES.

Segun la primera edicion impresa en Sevilla en 1534

MADRID 1891

FIG. 9

Verdade-

ra relacion de la conquista del Peru

y Provincia del Cuzco

llamada la Nueva Castilla, conquistada por

Francisco de Pizarro, capitan de la S. C. C. M.

del Emperador Nuestro Señor embiada á S. M.

por

Francisco de Xerez

uno de los primeros conquistadores

Anno 1534

CON PRIVILEGIO REAL EN SEVILLA

POR BARTOLOMÉ PEREZ

FIG. 10

FIG. 9.—Title-page of the fifth edition of Xerez. Madrid: J. C. García, 1891. About ⅔ actual size. (Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.)

FIG. 10.—Forged title-page of the "45-leaf" edition. From García's 1891 ed., p. 7. About ⅔ actual size. (Courtesy of the Harvard College Library.)

title-page introduced on page 5 and reproduced on page 7 belongs to the Seville 1534 edition consisting of 45 unnumbered leaves, and that the text reprinted in the 1891 edition, "segun la primera edicion impresa en Sevilla en 1534," is the very text of this "45-leaf" edition.

Let us look first at the text of the 1891 edition. Since the omissions and alterations which characterize Vedia's 1853 edition were inherited by the 1891 edition, it is a fifth edition, a rather distant relative of the 1534 original. The proofreading of the 1891 edition was done so carelessly that, in addition to all the mutilations of the original text inherited by it from Vedia's reprint of the Salamanca reprint of the de Robertis reprint of 1534 I, it presents a disgraceful number of misprints (including inverted letters) and of omissions (chiefly of "repetition jumps"); the printer of the 1891 edition was, apparently, under the impression that the reprinting of a nineteenth-century book can be done without collating the galleys with the printed pages from which they were set. The critical apparatus of the quatercentenary edition contains all the essential information concerning the text of the 1891 edition.

The analysis of the text of the worthless 1891 edition is but a first step toward the solution of the problem of the "45-leaf" edition of 1534. The next step concerns the biographical stanzas 10–21. On page 10 of the "noticia biográfica de Francisco de Xerez," the anonymous editor repeats—as an established fact, not as a hypothesis, and without mentioning Gayangos and Vedia—the preposterous story of Oviedo's authorship of "una epístola en verso," and of the suppression, in the 1547 edition, of the biographical stanzas. The suppression in 1547 presupposes their previous publication in 1534, but the naïve editor does not explain why he did not copy the biographical stanzas directly from the "45-leaf" edition of which he claims to reproduce both the title-page and the text. He states, on pages 10 and 11, that he borrowed the biographical stanzas

from "la *Historia de la Literatura Española*, de Ticknor, tomo II, pàgina 514." This statement is deliberately misleading, as I am going to show.

In 1851, Gayangos and Vedia reproduced, in the notes to their translation of Ticknor, the biographical stanzas 10–21, on pages 515–17. The first five verses of stanza 14 look as follows in the 1534 edition and on page 516, respectively:

1534	1851
Con ventura que es juez	Con ventura, que es juez
en qualquiera qualidad	En cualquiera qualidad,
se partio desta ciudad	Se partió desta ciudad
vn Francisco de Xerez	En quinze años de su edad:
en quinze años de su edad:	Y ganó en esta jornada

Verse 4 was accidentally omitted. The London correspondent who copied the stanzas for Gayangos and Vedia seems to have been in a hurry. Nobody seems to have noticed that stanza 14 was not of the regular coplas-décimas type. In 1853 Vedia reprinted, on page 343 of his edition of Xerez, the biographical stanzas. I reproduce, side by side, the first half of stanza 14 as it appears on page 343 of Vedia's 1853 edition and on page 172 of the 1891 edition.

1853	1891
Con ventura, que es juez	Con ventura, que es juez
En cualquiera calidad,	en cualquiera calidad,
Se partió desta ciudad,	se partió desta ciudad,
. . . . .	. . . . .
En quince años de su edad;	en quince años de su edad,

As was to be expected, the printer of the 1891 edition followed Vedia's 1853 edition, for the stanzas[17] as well as for the text of the *Verdadera relacion*. By mentioning Ticknor instead of Vedia, on pages 10 and 11 of the "noticia biográfica," the naïve editor merely tried to conceal the real source of his reprint, a

[17] A comparison of the use of italics in the last two stanzas offers independent evidence that 1891 followed Vedia's 1853 edition, not the notes to the 1851 translation of Ticknor.

tendency consistent with the omission of Vedia's 1853 edition from the "noticia bibliográfica por orden cronológico." Just as Külb and Markham were ashamed to admit that their respective translations were based on Barcia's 1749 edition, just as Piccini was ashamed to admit that he was translating from the French of Ternaux-Compans, the publisher of the 1891 edition did not care to admit that he was merely reprinting Vedia. It is hardly necessary to add that the 1891 edition lacks the six lines which introduce the hidalgo who wrote the stanzas: these six lines were not in Vedia, so they could not be expected to appear in the 1891 edition.

We have discussed the origin of the text and of the stanzas, as well as the reliability of the information found on pages 10 and 11 of the "noticia biográfica" and on pages 13 and 14 of the "noticia bibliográfica." We are ready to discuss the title-page reproduced in our Figure 10. Since the text of the "45-leaf" edition turned out to be merely the text of the fourth edition (1853), and since the biographical stanzas had to be copied from sources other than the "45-leaf" edition, the "portada de la primera edicion hecha en Seuilla el año de 1534 en letra gótica" is, apparently, all that is left of the "45-leaf" edition. It is our impression that the title-page reproduced in Figure 10 was designed and executed "en el establecimiento tipográfico de Juan Cayetano García," in exactly the same naïve nineteenth-century manner as the French title-page of Ternaux-Compans and the English title-page of Markham. Just as the French and the English title-pages, it borrowed its wording from the 1547 edition. It introduced, as could be expected, a sprinkling of misprints; and shortened the official title of Xerez, so as to make room for the lyre-and-scroll vignette; this shortening of the secretary's title is, incidentally, less objectionable than the omission, in Markham's title, of the following lines: OF THE CONQUEST | OF PERU | AND. The date and

place of printing are not indicated on the original 1547 title-page; the French and English title-pages supplied the place and the date; Markham even added, for the sake of completeness, "Second Edition"; the designer of Figure 10 added, modestly, "Anno [vignette] 1534 | Con Privilegio Real en Seuilla | por Bartolomé Perez," forgetting to use Roman numerals and black letters, and unaware of the fact that a reference to "los señores inquisidores" would have been more appropriate.

In defense of the publisher of the 1891 edition, it ought to be stated that he was, apparently, under the impression that Vedia's reprint was based directly on the "45-leaf" edition of 1534. On page ix of the preface to Vedia's 1853 edition, we find the following bibliographical information: "La obra de Jerez se imprimió por la vez primera en Sevilla, 1534, folio gótico, por Bartolomé Perez, y la segunda en Salamanca, 1547, por Juan de Junta, ... folio gótico"; Vedia then speaks of the Grenville copy, preserved in the British Museum, of the anonymous *La conquista*, and makes the clear statement that he has not seen it but has gathered some information concerning it; he then returns to the work of Xerez, and uses the following ambiguous expression: "... la *Relacion* que reproducimos aquí, y que tiene cuarenta y cinco fojas impresas en el ejemplar príncipe de 1534." It is reasonable to assume that Vedia had but second-hand information concerning the Lenox or the BM copy of the *Verdadera relacion*, just as his incomplete knowledge of the biographical stanzas and his superficial acquaintance with the BM copy of the anonymous *La conquista* were derived from correspondence with London. Vedia does not state that his reprint is based on the original edition. The publisher of the 1891 edition, apparently, assumed that Vedia's "la *Relacion* que reproducimos aquí, y que tiene cuarenta y cinco fojas impresas en el ejemplar príncipe de 1534" means that Vedia reproduced the text of the original edition—and that by the naïve device of

completely avoiding references to Vedia, and by inserting a fancy title-page, he could make his readers believe that he was offering a genuine reprint of the first edition.

Vedia's reference to the "45 leaves" of the 1534 edition might be the result of a confusion with the 45 pages of the Salamanca edition (title-page plus 45 pages—a total of 46 pages or 23 leaves). Escudero's title no. 350 is copied, with misprints and omissions, from the 1547 edition; his reference to the "45 leaves" is based on Vedia. The problem of the "45-leaf" edition of 1534 may be considered as solved.

TITLE VARIANTS OF HUBLEY'S *AMERICAN REVOLUTION*

By Randolph G. Adams

BIBLIOGRAPHERS of the American Revolution have long been familiar with Bernard Hubley's ambitious effort to write a documentary history of the whole of that war. In 1805 appeared the first volume of his, *The history of the American Revolution*, printed at Northumberland, Pennsylvania. Hubley began his story with the tea episode of 1773, and concluded his first volume with an action of Congress on October 9, 1775. Apparently no succeeding volumes appeared. This first volume is largely a compilation of public documents now available in many other forms. Curiously enough, the title-page of almost every copy that has been described bears a misprint in the author's name. It is given as "Benrard" instead of "Bernard" Hubley, although the name is spelled correctly in the copyright notice on the verso of the title-page. It was long the practice of the late Dr. Lucius L. Hubbard, of Houghton, Michigan, to examine copies of this book that came his way, or those he could find in libraries, to see whether any were issued with Hubley's name correctly spelled on the title. He was finally rewarded, and succeeded in purchasing for his library a copy bearing the spelling "Bernard." A comparison of the two variants shows that they differ only as to the first leaf. Both the recto (title) and verso (copyright) have been entirely reset. But the remainder of the two volumes is identical, a fact easily established by the comparison of broken types, misprints, etc. The same list of errata appears in both variants.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

AMERICAN REVOLUTION,

INCLUDING

THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE

HONOURABLE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS DURING THAT PERIOD

AND ALSO,

THE MOST INTERESTING LETTERS AND ORDERS

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY

GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON,

COMMANDER IN CHIEF

OF THE

AMERICAN FORCES.

BY BENRARD HUBLEY.

VOLUME I.

NORTHUMBERLAND, PENNSYLVANIA,
PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY ANDREW KENNEDY.

1805.

W. L. Clements copy

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1805.

L. L. Hubbard copy

Dr. Hubbard reported his discovery to the Bibliographical Society at the Washington midwinter meeting, December, 1927, but did not contribute his note to the *Papers*.

Some months later Dr. Hubbard was in my office and commented on his discovery. He examined the William L. Clements Library copy of the book (tall, boards, uncut, but "Benrard") and noted the statement therewith in the hand of Lathrop C. Harper, "Very fine copy. The result of three or four changes. Most unusual in such clean and unspotted condition." Mr. Harper makes a practice of laying these notes in books sold to Mr. Clements. Dr. Hubbard remarked that Mr. Clements' Library should have both variants and that in due course he would present his copy to the Library. This has since been done.

Dr. Hubbard was urged to reduce his differentiation of the two variants to writing, but his death prevented. At the suggestion of the present editor of the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society*, the differences are herewith recorded.

The following letter from Dr. Hubbard to me is in order at this point:

HOUGHTON, July 24, 1931

I did not write any article on Hubley, but merely showed slides[1] on that and another subject, and explained them. I supposed the Secretary made notes for his record and would report them duly, but do not recollect that I ever received anything of the sort, unless it was in a "notice" sheet. You need only say that I pointed out to the audience (it was at the Washington meeting) the existence of the corrected title-page, and then give it *in extenso* yourself.

The important thing is to do exactly what Dr. Hubbard did, i.e., show facsimiles of the two titles. To describe the book we have: 2 preliminary leaves (pp. [i]–iv), pp. 1–192 (8 pages, each likewise numbered 192), pp. 193–606, [1] p. (errata); or, by signatures: [a^2], A–Z^4, 4 leaves unsigned, Aa–Zz^4, Aaa–Zzz^4,

[1] Dr. Hubbard's exhibit, presented at the second session of the meeting, December 30, 1927, was briefly noticed in *News sheet*, no. 8 (January 10, 1928).

Aaaa–Dddd[4]. The eight pages, all numbered 192, inserted between the regularly numbered pages 192 ([Z4] verso) and 193 (Aa1 recto) contain matter inadvertently omitted in the typographical composition of the text; they are to be read after the paragraph ending at the top of the regularly numbered page 192.

All that I have been able to discover about Captain Hubley's military career is that he came to Lancaster (that ancient home of printing) about 1735–40;[2] that, agreeable to a resolve of the Continental Congress, May 25, 1776, a German battalion of infantry was raised for the American army (four Pennsylvania and four Maryland companies); that to these companies was added a ninth by resolve of July 9, 1777; that Hubley was attached to one of these;[3] that he was commissioned first lieutenant on August 12, 1776, promoted to a captaincy on February 24, 1778, and was retired on January 1, 1781.[4] In his civil career, it appears he was one of the founders of the [Lady] Juliana [Penn] Library Company at Lancaster in 1763, and one of the directors when it was revived in 1783.[5]

His book was advertised for sale in the *Western star* of Lewistown, Pennsylvania, June 3, 1805, and sold for $3.00 per copy instead of the previously advertised $2.00. As there was not enough paper, subscribers would be accommodated as they paid, first come, first served. Five or six volumes were contemplated.[6] From his preface it appears that Captain Hubley had access to certain unpublished manuscripts of his fellow-officers, notably those of Adjutant General Edward Hand. But apparently he never got to those volumes in which these manuscripts would have been important. Does the remainder

[2] *Pa. mag. of hist. & biog.*, X, 413.

[3] T. H. S. Hamersly, *Complete regular army register* (Washington, 1880), p. 33.

[4] F. B. Heitman, *Hist. reg. of officers of the Continental Army* (Washington, 1914).

[5] *Pa. mag. of hist. & biog.*, XLIII, 24.

[6] *Ibid.*, XXIII, 120.

of his manuscript exist today in some private library in Pennsylvania?

A final anecdote about the book may not be amiss, although the writer blushes to tell this story, as it is in the nature of a confession. Obviously, the "Benrard" title page is common enough, whereas Dr. Hubbard's "Bernard" title-page is rare. It may be presumed that the error was detected or reported before a very large number of subscribers had been supplied, but that few subscriptions reached the author after the title-page of the first volume had been reprinted. Only one other copy besides Dr. Hubbard's has come to my attention, though doubtless there are others. Twenty years ago the writer was an undergraduate at the University of Pennsylvania. There he was interested in looking through the Library of the Philomathean Society. The Philomathean (then a century old) was one of those undergraduate literary organizations which, before university libraries were well developed, used to provide books for undergraduates. By 1914 the reason for the existence of its library had almost disappeared, but the library remained. The Society was induced to deposit its rarities in a special collection at the University of Pennsylvania Library.[7] The remaining volumes, which apparently no one desired, were sent for sale to Leary's Old Book Store, so well known to readers of A. E. Newton and Christopher Morley. Years later the writer was spending a pleasant evening in Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach's private library on DeLancey Place when his eye fell upon a copy of Hubley's book with the rare "Bernard" title-page. Moreover, it bore the bookplate of the Philomathean Society, whose rarities were supposed to have gone to the University of Pennsylvania Library. In response to an inquiry as to where he got the book, Dr. Rosenbach's eyes twinkled as he replied: "At Leary's." Unfortunately, this was the precise truth.

[7] This transaction was duly recorded in *Old Penn*, May 30, 1914.

A PRINTER SOLDIER OF FORTUNE*

By Alice H. Lerch

CLOSE to Washington is a handsome town called Georgetown; in fact it will form part of the new city, for being so near the site intended for it, and being laid out nearly on the same plan, its streets will be only a prolongation of the streets laid out for the city of Washington, so that it will, in course of time, lose its name of Georgetown, and adopt the general one of Washington. Much in the same manner the small places formerly separated from the metropolis of England have lost their names, and fallen under the general denomination of London." So wrote young Francis Baily, later president of the Royal Astronomical Society of London, in his *Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 & 1797*.

So thought many others even earlier. In 1783 Congress had begun to discuss the establishment of a seat of government—not fixed until 1790. But before the selection, and as early as June, 1788, Robert Morris wrote to General Gates, then at "Traveller's Rest" in Virginia, "You however will fix within the Ten Mile Square, as the Federal Town will become the Head Quarters for Politics & Pleasure and it will be particularly well adapted for all who have a sufficient annual income to live upon."

Many others already had their thoughts fixed on the possibility of business and profit in a proposed federal city and, with

* Read, December 28, 1934, at the Midwinter Meeting of the Society held in Washington, D.C.

high hopes for the selection of the Potomac site, were acquiring land and forming business projects.

Many of the unemployed, those young men left destitute without trades or means of support, were trying their luck from place to place seeking in new places means for a livelihood not offered in their home towns suffering from the suspension of industry and the ravages of war. Small wonder, then, that a proposed new city with everything before it, seemed to offer opportunity and advancement. So thought those who came from across the sea, and from the colonies, to George-Town-on-Patowmack to try to establish their fortunes as well as a seat of government.

Then, to this town with its active port, its tobacco warehouses, its college lately founded by the Jesuits, and with its expectation of being a part of the "Scite of the Federal City," came Major Charles Fierer who established a printing office and, with high courage but little experience, printed February 12, 1789, a newspaper, *The Times. And The Patowmack Packet*, the first in the present city of Washington. This paper from time to time has received slight passing notice, chiefly local, but the printers, about whom there was nothing in print, have been left in obscurity, although their work appeared some years before the accepted date for the first printing in the District of Columbia.

In 1917, engaged in trying to find an unknown printer, I secured photostats of early surviving numbers of *The Times*, *And Patowmack Packet* with reference to type investigations and thus made the acquaintance of Charles Fierer and his partner Thomas U. Fosdick, and, notwithstanding the slurs of Samuel Davidson, the Scottish merchant of George-Town, or even the decisions of some members of the Board of War of the Continental Congress, I have found them absorbingly interesting companions, and I agree with the judgment of Fierer's "many friends of high rank and position in Virginia," and with Fos-

dick's Captain, that young patriot who regretted he had but one life to give to his country. Thus started by two small lower-case letters, *n* and *p*, no place, no printer, too frequently found in catalogue entries, a quest began which developed a bibliographical triangle, one side of which is the identity of the unknown printers, Fierer and Fosdick.

They now come from the obscurity of oblivion into the light of recognition for work accomplished under difficult conditions and for endeavor with no reward. The story of their work may end in deduction but the story of their lives is fact, based entirely on documents dug, and often pried, out of official and public collections graciously made available by the officials in whose care they now are.

With no local references to either Fierer or Fosdick the search began with the Major whose title and name furnished clues for a start which continued from the landing of the first Hessian troops through all the years of the Revolution. From the first he was an elusive person—appearing through the years under about thirteen varieties of the same name, according to the phonetic spelling of various recorders. This caused delay in 1917 but in 1934 not even intuition was necessary to pick the new name Frior in the Manassas County Court House index when his will, long sought and believed to have been destroyed in the Civil War, was finally located. But long before this, Ensign Führer was found in the British Army lists where he remained until the end; also in German official records. A certificate signed by the Minister of War in 1838, "hereby certified that, according to the records of this department, Ensign Charles Fierer, of the Hessian Regiment von Knyphausen marched with that regiment to North America, and that at Trenton he was taken prisoner of war, and has not come back from there."

Ensign Führer was found aboard ship bound for England, in port in England, landing in New York, in New York, and then

was said to have been captured at Trenton at that fateful Christmas time. His name, however, was not included in the printed lists of Hessian officers captured, or in the manuscript list in the New York Historical Society.

Unbelievable as it may sound, a small piece of paper bearing a separate parole, signed by Ensign Führer, was preserved in the Gates papers thus proving that Führer was one of the three Hessian officers who signed separate paroles. Accounts of the trip of the prisoners on their journey to Virginia appeared in Philadelphia and Baltimore papers and in the journals of the officers.

There are few references in print to the fifteen months' stay of the Hessian officers in and around Dumfries but it was evidently enjoyable and certainly changed the course of Fierer's life. Upon the release of the Hessian prisoners in the spring of 1778, Fierer returned to New York.

Suspicion that he and his friend and fellow-officer, Kleinschmidt, were the two officers who deserted in New York the night of the fire in August, 1778, and appeared before General Washington at White Plains is substantially confirmed. Fierer states in a letter to Congress, November 15, 1781:

> The attachment to the American cause induced me, after being exchanged, to prepare to resign my commission . . . in order to join the Americans, but being unjustly refused the request of resignation, I thought it sufficient to take a certificate of the commanding officer of the regiment showing that I had served with honor; and had demanded my discharge. After which I left New York and proceeded on to Head Quarters of his Excellency Gen. Washington, being made known to him by some of his principal officers with whom I formed an acquaintance while a Prisoner in Virginia.

In a letter of August 20, 1778, Lieutenant Henkelmann wrote:

> Our Trenton prisoners are safely back here again. But of the Regiment v. Knyphausen, two Ensigns, Führer and Kleinschmidt, who seem to have enjoyed themselves when among the rebels, have gone back to them, that is to say, they deserted . . . a fine piece of conduct! It is said that Washington is willing to return them to us. Still finer yet! . . .

That General Washington had no such idea is shown by the first of many letters, from and to him, relating to the military career of Fierer, beginning with one written from White Plains, August 9, 1778, and signed by the General.

In this, General Washington suggested a captaincy for Fierer in a new corps of German volunteers to be raised by Fierer and his friends. This interesting venture cannot be discussed here. The appointment was made and later withdrawn and, during the remainder of that year, was succeeded by a series of petitions to Congress by Fierer for further service with the army. Finally in 1779, again through his Virginia friends, he succeeded in securing an appointment from Governor Jefferson in the Virginia line and served in the Southern Campaign. A serious injury incapacitated him for further service and in November, 1781, he was back in Philadelphia, injured, without money or country, and, as he wrote to Washington: "Entirely unprovided for here and all connections between me and my native country cut off it is to your Excellency and the honourable Congress only I have left to fly to for help."

This was the time of the announcement, by John Jacob Lotheissen, Hessian Judge Advocate of New York, of the sentence of the court-martial which decreed that the three officers, "Ensigns Führer . . . Kleinschmidt . . . and de Micklaswiecz . . . be hanged for Treason and Desertion to the Enemy, and that their effigies be hanged, with their names and crimes thereunto marked, till the prisoners (now absent) shall fall within the reach of Justice."

Notifications published in *The New York Gazette: And The Weekly Mercury* of October 8, 1781, stated that "the Effigies of the said Officers, with their names and crimes thereunto marked, are actually hanged on the gallows at New-York and Fort Knyphausen." That this did happen, although the British left New York so soon after, is recorded by an eyewitness and

also in the Journal of Carl von Krafft, lieutenant in the Hessian army, who wrote:

> 27 Sept. [1781] Thursday. Several desertions having occurred among the Hessians, a gallows was built in front of Fort Knyphaussen *in order to excite fear.* 10 October. Monday. This morning the portraits of the three Hessian officers who had deserted, von Masco, Führer and Kleinschmidt, and *who had been away for a long time* were fastened to the gallows. In the afternoon our regiment had orders to march at short notice.

This officer, von Krafft, was the great-grandfather of the late Mrs. Harriet de Krafft Woods, long associated with the Library of Congress and a member of an old Washington family. Reading this Journal, and remembering Mrs. Woods's family name, I wrote asking if it were possible that von Krafft was related to her. She was amused, as well as interested, by the coincidence.

According to a petition sent to the Virginia House of Burgess in 1793, Fierer went to Europe after his injury . . . and returned to America. In 1788 he was at Norfolk and early in 1789 we find him established at Georgetown. Goddard's *Maryland Journal*, for April 14, 17, and 24, 1789, contained a notice:

> To whom it may concern. Whereas the Subscriber commenced partnership with a certain *Charles Frierer*, in a Printing Office in George-Town, Patowmack River; and whereas the said *Frierer*, at sundry Times, violated the Articles of our Agreement, he thinks it necessary to forewarn the Public from paying or settling any Matter or Business whatsoever with the said *Frierer*, or to trust the Concern with any Article or Sum of Money without a written Order from the Subscriber. [*Signed*] CHRISTIAN KRAMER: George-Town April 12, 1789.

This seems to prove that Kramer was an earlier partner connected with the first few numbers of the paper.

A new partner, silent except for his name in the imprint, was Thomas U. Fosdick finally located through his middle initial *U* as of New London, Connecticut, son of that Dr. Thomas Fosdick who was at the siege of Boston. Dr. Fosdick was the son of Deacon Thomas Fosdick who married Esther, daughter of the Lodowick Updike whose daughter, Sarah, was the wife of

Giles Goddard, parents of William and Mary Goddard, printers of Baltimore, in 1789.

It is with hesitation that reference is made to Fosdick's identity, for he *is* that brave boy sergeant mentioned in Nathan Hale's last letter. Hale tells of the attack by the fire vessels upon the British shipping in the river and states that "Sergt. Fosdick who commanded the above sloop and four of his hands were of my company. The General has been pleased to reward their bravery with forty dollars each except the last man that quitted the firy sloop who had fifty." There are two other interesting letters relating to Fosdick and Hale. The earliest, now preserved in the Connecticut Historical Society, was written to Hale, December 7, 1775, by Fosdick, who said: "Ever since the uneasiness. . . I've form'd a Resolution to go down to the assistance of my country men. . . I should choose to be under you in particular; if not, I am determined to come down . . . a hearty Boy, undaunted by Danger."

Notice that Thomas Updike Fosdick's father was first cousin of William and Mary Goddard. There seems excellent reason for the marked improvement in the appearance of *The Times* after the arrival of this new partner. One may even hazard the guess that Fosdick was the dependable member of the firm.

There is evidence that Major Fierer was establishing himself in Georgetown. April 10, 1789, Samuel Davidson, Scotch merchant of Georgetown, wrote to his friend Archibald Patison of the Eastern Shore of Maryland, "This will probably be delivered by Major Charles Fierer of this place who goes to your shore on Masonic business; in that case permit me to solicit your accustomed civility and good support in his favor." This Masonic business was preliminary to the establishment of Lodge No. 9, the first in the present District of Columbia and of which Major Fierer was first grand master. Throughout *The Times, and Patowmack Packet* there are frequent references to the activities of this lodge. This same Samuel Davidson, later the

master of "Evermay," recorded pungent criticism of his neighbors and friends, as well as customers, in his business papers. One cannot put too much dependence upon his epithets whose favor depended upon the side of the balance on the ledger sheet.

It was Davidson who seems responsible, perhaps one should say indirectly responsible, for the discontinuation of *The Times* in July, 1791. Davidson pressed a debt of Fierer's for £11/3/9 for a note of hand lodged in the Montgomery County Court.

Great need for money is proved. There is on record in this court a bill of sale, June 11, 1791, to Richard Johns for £35/5/2 "for one printing press, one Fird of English type . . . provided always that if I the said Charles Fierer . . . do well and truly pay . . . Richard Johns the said sum on or before the first day of January 1792 . . . this bill of sale to be void . . . otherwise to remain in full force."

I found no record of payment—but there may be anything in that collection of documents. There is, however, in that same courthouse an order to the sheriff of Montgomery County dated March 20, 1792, "to take Charles Fierer if he shall be found and keep him safe, so that you have his body before the justices of our next County Court." October, 1792, the attorney said "do not renew." The sheriff returned "non est."

The printers had moved to Dumfries, in Virginia, the first home of Fierer in America. There they published *The Virginia Gazette, and Agricultural Repository* of which, thanks again to Mr. Brigham, we know that the first known surviving copy is no. 3 of v. 1, October 13, 1791, and the last, no. 102 of v. 2, for December 19, 1793. There is on file in the Court House of Prince William, in Virginia, an indenture made October 24, 1792, between the guardians of one John Ralls and Charles Fierer and Thomas Fosdick, by which John Ralls was bound until twenty-one years of age with the promise that he be taught to read and write; and "also teach him the trade, art, or artistery of printing."

From 1792 to its conclusion Fierer continued the paper which shrank and shrank and got worse and worse. Certainly John Ralls was not progressing as a typesetter. Fierer was very ill—a long time one may suppose by the terms of his will—and with strength at the end only to make his mark in place of that strong signature on so many papers of the Continental Congress.

Major Fierer died December 9, 1794 at Dumfries, and so recorded Samuel Davidson, the merchant, who wrote in his ledger, "Charles Fierer dead—Credit to profit and loss. This scoundrel died within the prison bounds at Dumfries." But in an entry for September 28, 1795, there is more respect, for he had "Received of the Executors of Major Charles Fierer the debt, interest and costs which I thought lost." Thus the "scoundrel" again became a major. This same volume of accounts has an entry headed: "Peter Charles L'Enfant, projector of the City of Washington £131/1– By profit and loss, knowing you now to be a pitiful dirty fellow and very poor, I give up the debt." Then, Davidson was wealthy and prosperous; L'Enfant and Fierer—destitute, forlorn and ill. Now, two ledgers in crumbling calf represent his achievement, and "Evermay,"the name of his house and gardens in Georgetown, is better known than his own.

Not only was Charles Fierer's will finally found at Manassas but also an inventory of his effects and an itemized bill of sale. The official inventory is a pathetic three-page enumeration, so minute that one may easily picture "the tall, handsome, young fellow," as he was called in the war, in his blue coat with a red cape, his cocked hat, and tall boots. It was a lengthy list including a curling iron, cravats, a morning gown (bought by Dr. Thornton at the sale), a parcel of blank bonds, blank bills of exchange, blank declarations, a quantity of old newspapers, old maps and hanging papers, sixteen very old books, sundry old pamphlets and pieces of books, a Mason's apron, old pictures, one box without a top, a frame of a bookbinder's cutting knife,

little tin box, two land warrants for two thousand acres, one printing press, several cases, a variety of English and Dutch types, and all the apparatus belonging to the printing office of the said Fierer.

The publication in full of the will and executors' account of the sale of Fierer's tangible property seems to round out the story of his picturesque, useful, and, from the point of view of material gain, not too successful life.

In the Name of God, Amen I Charles Fierer of Prince William County and State of Virginia being weak & sick in body but of sound & disposing memory do make and ordain this to be my last will and testament Imprimis.

It is my will and I do desire that all my just debts be paid by my executors hereafter mentioned for which purpose I do authorize them to dispose of all my lands, household furniture, printing apparatus and every other species of property now in my possession or which I am in any wise entitled to. Item, It is my will and desire that after all my just debts & funeral expenses are paid my Executors should give unto Joseph Thomas so much of my wearing apparel as they may think equal in value to twenty Dollars in consideration of the great attention he has paid to me during my present illness—

Item, I give and bequeath unto Robert Alexander out of the resideu one hundred Dollars in consideration of the kindness he hath shown & the services he has rendered me since my residence in Dumfries.—

Item, It is my will and desire that the ballance of my Estate if any should remain after satisfying all my just debts & discharging the legacies before mentioned should be remitted by my Exors to my Dear sister Caroline Maria Feirer at Hanover in Germany. The land above mentioned in this will is contained in two land warrants each for two thousand acres and was granted to me by the Assembly of Virginia.—

Lastly, I nominate and appoint my friends—Alexander Lithgow John Williams, John Lawson & Robert Alexander Executors of this my last will and testament & I do revoke all wills heretofore by me made. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed

my seal this ninth day of November in the year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & ninety four.

his
CHARLES X FIERER [*Seal*]
mark

Published & declared by the Testator as his last will and testament in presence of us

PHILIP DAWE
CHAS. ADAMS
GEORGE WEAVER
GRIEF HEDGES
JOHN ROLLS

January 5th, 1795
An Account of articles sold belonging to the Estate of C. Feirer, Decd.

Articles Sold	To Whom	Amount		
1 old windsor Armed Chair one old flagg'd Armed Do 3 old Flagg Chairs	Samuel Davis		5	6
Two old pine Tables and covers	John Darach 3/5		2	6
9 Quart Bottles	John Williams		2	6
One pair old half boots One pair old Boots	Proved to be given to old Joseph Thomas before the Majors death		0	0
One Corkscrew, One Lemon Squeezer 2 Broken Glass Candlesticks	Thomas Thornton		3	
One bed wench and pin, 10 vials, pair old money scales 2 old razor cases	Ditto Do		2	3
One old Flagg matt, one Bedstead, one Bed and Bolster two Blankets 1 Sheet	Alex. Wilson pd	4	12	0
One Butter pot, shoe brushes, curling Tongs, shot bag and whetstone	William Gunyon		6	
2½ lbs Beeswax, 1 pound weight lead, 16 very old books, sundry old pamphlets & pieces of Books	Arch'd. Carr	1	2	0
1 large Cage	Wm. Attwell		19	
3 old Barrels, one old bucket, one old chest	John Williams		6	6
1 Cattail bed and blanket	Wm. Gunyon		9	0
1 Do Do & Do	Mr. Galvan		16	

One old round hat	Arch'd. Carr			6
One Cock'd Do Do	Do	1	1	
1 Cloak	John Williams		15	
1 Blue coat with red cape	John Williams	2	10	
One Blue Coat	Arch'd. Carr		15	
One Grey Coat	Do		7	6
6 Shirts	John Williams	5	19	
5 Cravats	Arch'd. Carr		10	
2 pair old breeches	Do		7	8
2 pair old Do	Do		13	6
one Pair overalls	Mr. Galvan		5	3
4 pair Cotton Stockings	Arch'd. Carr		9	6
1 pair Blue Stockings	Wm. Gunyon		3	
1 Pair worsted Do	Mr. Galvan		2	
1 Cane	George Williams			6
One Summer vest	Arch'd. Carr		5	
one Do	Do		4	
1 Ditto	Charles Harding pd		1	
2 Handkerchiefs	John Watson pd		6	
One pair Gloves	Samuel Davis		3	9
One Jacket patron	John Watson pd		3	6
$5\frac{1}{2}$ Yards Jeans 1 Wash Ball	John Fristoe		16	
One morning Gown	Doctor Thornton		9	
One chest	Robert Alexander		4	6
One Trunk	Archibald Carr		3	7
One old pot.	William Marchant pd.R.A.		3	
A parcel of Curtain Stuff	Jane Davis		4	6
A Quantity of old newspapers	William Smith		1	10
One piece oil Cloth Old maps and hanging paper	James Brown pd		7	
Old box without a top, and frame of a Book binder's Cutting knife & little Tin Box	James Espey			6
A parcel of Blank bonds	John Williams		9	
Blank bills of Exchange	Adam Cooke pd			$4\frac{1}{2}$
Blank Declarations	John Williams		1	6
2 Doz. 3 Small Buttons 1 large	Will'y. Tebbs pd		1	6
2 Tin Boxes, Wafers and seal	Thomas Thornton		1	6
One old Casimere Jackett	James Cooper pd		1	3
One small mahogany Chest	John Williams		1	
One Blankett	James Espey		6	0
A parcel plank	Do		9	

One Smoothing Plane (old)	Do		0	4
A pair stilts	Arch'd. Carr			3
		30	4	$10\frac{3}{4}$

Articles sold the 28th day of February 1795 on a credit of Six months

1 Land Warrant for 2000 acres No	John Heslop	87	0	0
1 Dittoe Ditto for 2000 acres No	Ditto	89	0	0
1 Printing Press, Types do do	Col. Will'y Tebbs	90	0	0
		296	4	$10\frac{3}{4}$

Witness our hands

ROBERT ALEXANDER
JOHN WILLIAMS } *Executors*

At A Court held for Prince William County the 6th day July 1795.

This Account of the sales of the Estate of Charles Fierer deceased was returned to the Court and ordered to be recorded.

Teste

JOHN WILLIAMS, *Cl. Cur.*

Feeling a certain responsibility for bringing this life out of the past, it was a great relief to see the estate so creditably settled and all accounts cleared.

When we turn to their achievements of almost a century and a half ago, it will be with the hope that they may seem to justify this search for the identity of Fierer and Fosdick—two soldiers of the Revolution, first enemies and then partners in the first known printing adventure in the present city of Washington.

THE COLLECTION OF MANUSCRIPTS AND RARE BOOKS IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY*

By Dorothy Miner

THE character of the library of rare books and manuscripts formed by Mr. Henry Walters was determined largely by the fact that it was assembled as part of an art gallery. The great collection bequeathed to the city of Baltimore upon his death in 1931 was the result of over seventy years of active collecting on the part of himself and his father. The elder Mr. Walters had assembled academic paintings and Chinese porcelains as the currently fashionable hobby of a gentleman of wealth. His son set himself the task of providing single-handed, as a memorial to his father, a museum which should illustrate the artistic history of all the important civilizations from the empires of Mesopotamia and the Nile Valley to the Europe of the late nineteenth century. Although the task of sorting and cataloguing this enormous mass of material has been going forward since the fall of 1934, when the Walters Art Gallery was opened as a public museum, this period of intensive work has barely sufficed to reveal what is there. The rank of this great assemblage in relation to other museums and private collections can be determined only after scholars and specialists have had opportunity to become more familiar with this new wealth of unpublished objects.

The fact that Mr. Walters began about 1900 to build up a considerable library of manuscripts and rare books was known

* Read, May 12, 1936, at a meeting of the Society held in Richmond, Virginia.

to most of those in the book world, but the precise range and quality of this material are only now being discovered. The titles of nearly twelve hundred of his incunabula have long been known from the catalogue, *Incunabula typographica*, issued by Mr. Walters in 1906 when he acquired the bulk of his fifteenth-century imprints. The subsequent addition of over one hundred of his choicest items is, however, thus far unrecorded, although these more recent titles will be listed in the forthcoming edition of the *Census of fifteenth century books owned in America* which Miss Stillwell is directing.

As the collection stands, it is somewhat uneven, since it contains no English imprints of the fifteenth century, and but slight representation of Spanish, Dutch, and Flemish printers. Nevertheless, the work of over four hundred presses is included, with particular emphasis upon German and Italian productions. Certain of the spectacular treasures which grace other important collections of early books are lacking. We can boast of no Gutenberg Bible or Mainz Psalter, but among the items representative of early Mainz printing are unusually good vellum copies of Clement V's *Constitutiones* of 1460, 1467, and 1471. Some of the interesting items which may be cited at random are: the rare Bonus Accursius issued by Philippus de Lavagnia (Milan, 1475) in original binding and mint condition; the 1481 Mallermi Bible of Octavius Scotus, of which only three or four other complete examples are known; and the Yemeniz-Huth copy of Ammonius' *Commentarius* from the Calliergi press, in which the ornament of the first page is printed in gold.

In the brief preface which Mr. Walters wrote for his catalogue of 1906 he mentions the need of a comprehensive bibliography of fifteenth-century printing and modestly hopes that in the enumeration of such early books "America also might be in possession of at least one missing abroad." It is therefore a particular pleasure to note that each succeeding volume of the *Gesamtkatalog* reveals several titles of which the Walters collec-

tion contains the only known copies. One may indicate among these an *Aesop moralisatus* with interlinear gloss in Italian printed in Brescia by Bernardus Misinta in 1495; a *Confessional* of St. Antoninus from the press of Antonius de Strata (Venice) in 1483; a *Coniuratio malignorum spiritum* printed by Eucharius Silber; the *Oratione* of St. Cyprian, in Italian, from the press of Justiniano da Rubiera; and a Donatus published by Johannes Emericus de Spira in 1494.

The general character of the collection gathered by Mr. Walters, however, indicates that his chief interest lay not so much in rarities as in materials to illustrate the arts of bookmaking, including not only typography but illustration and binding. The association of his library with an art gallery made this emphasis particularly appropriate. The collection is enriched therefore by good copies of most of the important early illustrated works, particularly those produced by the German and Italian presses. There is a good series of Boccaccios, including perfect copies not only of the first Latin edition of the *De claris mulieribus* but the much rarer German version of 1479 (Sorg). Other books of particular interest for their illustrations are the very good Huth copy of the 1481 Strassburg Aesop; the rare fourth edition of *Die neue Ehe und das Passional* (Sorg, 1491) from the Fairfax-Murray collection; a good group of Breidenbachs, including the famous Huth copy of the first Latin edition; and a few of the more interesting early geographies, among which one may cite an example of Berlinghieri's *Geographia* in the infrequent first state without the sixteenth-century title.

Although the block books constitute an insignificant group compared to the superb series assembled by the Pierpont Morgan Library, the gallery is fortunate in possessing a few interesting examples, such as the 1470 Nördlingen issue of the *Biblia pauperum*, and the particularly beautiful Fairfax-Murray copy of Schreiber's "Fourth issue" of this same work.

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books were collected for the most part either for their illustrations or as examples of binding. Most of the works illustrated by Dürer are included, in addition to examples of the work of other important sixteenth-century artists. The chief Paris, Lyons, and Bâle presses are represented by numerous typical specimens, and there is a fair series of Aldine editions. The books of this period also include some important English imprints, particularly a complete series of Chaucers from the first collected edition of 1532 to that of 1602, the noteworthy series of Chronicles formerly in the Lefferts collection, folios of Ben Jonson, Shakespeare (lacking the third), and Spenser. There is no collection of Americana, except such standard early exploration material as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Raleigh's *History of the world*, *Purchas his pilgrims*, Smith's 1624 *Generall historie of Virginia*, and similar items.

The eighteenth-century books, aside from a few of the standard French "plate books" were chosen principally for their bindings. One may note, however, an assortment of about two hundred memoirs and histories of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, relating to the French Revolution. The nineteenth-century books are of little importance, although some of the illustrated works, such as those by Gavarni, Daumier, and Meissonier, relate to other collections in the gallery.

I have not included in the foregoing survey mention of a group of over fourteen hundred printed books, manuscripts, and documents, ranging from the fourteenth to the early nineteenth century. These purport to be the old "legal library" removed from the Rathaus in Nuremberg. Thus far, only a summary check list of this material is available, as the books are still stored in packing cases.

Unquestionably the most remarkable section of the library gathered by Mr. Walters is the collection of medieval illuminated manuscripts. This comprises over seven hundred and fifty items, ranging from the ninth to the eighteenth century,

and representing the chief artistic centers of Europe and the Near East. This collection, in respect to extent as well as quality is second in this country only to that in the Pierpont Morgan Library. The Carolingian, Ottonian, and Romanesque examples are of great interest but cannot be compared in importance with the magnificent Morgan treasures of this period. The assemblage of French fifteenth-century illuminated books, however, is an outstanding one, while Byzantine and Armenian illumination is represented by a collection unexcelled in America. The Greek manuscripts demonstrate the history of painting and writing in Constantinople and the Byzantine empire from the early tenth century until the end of the sixteenth. Armenian art during this same period is represented by a notable series of books which commences with the famous "Gospel of the Translators," dated 966 A.D., one of the earliest illustrated Armenian manuscripts remaining. The period of the Armenian exile in the Kingdom of Cilicia has provided us with two of the most interesting manuscripts in the library. One of these, dated 1193, includes an unpublished contemporary account of Frederick Barbarossa's arrival as leader of the Third Crusade. The other Cilician manuscript, dating seventy years later, is very richly illustrated by Thoros Roslin, the most famous of Armenian illuminators.

The holograph material of the collection is limited and somewhat miscellaneous. The best-known item is the manuscript of the "Star-spangled Banner," which is the earliest one surviving. One may also cite a group of about seventy-five letters of Catharine the Great.

The bindings still in use on the books form a very interesting and representative collection. They include a few medieval jeweled examples, embroidered bindings, stamped leather from the twelfth century onward, with an especially rich assortment of French and Italian sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century specimens.

Mr. Walters incorporated his library with an art museum due to his consciousness of the close relation of bookmaking in its manifold phases to the other creative and decorative arts. In so doing, he has extended the scope of his library even beyond the notable assemblage of books standing upon the shelves. For, by drawing upon other departments of the gallery, we find assembled in this one collection materials to illustrate the history of bookmaking for five thousand years, from Sumerian times, onward, and that of binding in metals, ivory, textiles, and leather from the sixth century A.D. to the present day.

THE JESUIT RELATIONS FROM NEW FRANCE*

By Lawrence C. Wroth

INTRODUCTION

THE series of annual letters from the superiors of the Jesuit missionaries of New France, published from 1632 to 1673 by the French Province of the Society of Jesus, has acquired with time definite and exclusive designation as the "Jesuit Relations." Convenient and well understood though the designation may be, it is unsatisfactory in the respect that it separates the series from the great body of Jesuit missionary writing to which it is closely related in form and intention. These reports from the Canadian wilderness are simply a small group set apart by special circumstances of publication from the innumerable communications which, through four centuries and a half, the missionaries of the Jesuit order have been transmitting to headquarters from all parts of the world. "The field is white for the harvest" was a phrase frequently on the lips of members of the Society, and in their fervid belief the field was the world. Year by year from India, China, and Japan, from Brazil, Paraguay, and Mexico, from Ethiopia and Malabar, from Maryland and from Canada came these detailed reports of the progress of the harvest, of the garnering of souls

* Read, May 12, 1936, at a meeting of the Society held in Richmond, Virginia. This study was prepared in 1931 at the request of the late James Comly McCoy, of Grasse, France. The opening pages of it were used as an introduction to Mr. McCoy's *Jesuit Relations of Canada, 1632–1673*, a bibliography soon to be reviewed in these *Papers*. The study is printed here in its original form with the kind permission of Mrs. James Comly McCoy and her son Daniel L. McCoy.

for the Lord Jesus Christ. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto Me." Notwithstanding the enmity, dislike, and criticism engendered within and without the church by the aggressive Society of Jesus at various times in its history, the world has recognized that this great body of carefully chosen and rigorously trained men of zeal and learning has existed from the beginning for the sole purpose of lifting up their Lord for all men to see. The report of their activities in this adventure, encompassing widely time and space, is one of the great documents of human history. The "Relations des Jésuites en la Nouvelle France" record a part only of this great task, conceived and carried out, as the Society's motto proclaims, *Ad majorem dei gloriam.*

By reason of the unities of time, place, and circumstance found in the set of missionary reports we call the Jesuit Relations, the drama of the Society's activities in New France is intimately known to many to whom its work elsewhere in the world is hardly more than a legend. But even that drama may be more sharply felt through the realization of its story as part of a greater story, through the conception of the Relations in which it is embodied as occupying only a single shelf in a great library of heroic histories. It is the nature of things, however, that they are best dealt with in categories, and we must in the long run be grateful that the written records of the Canadian mission have arrogated to themselves the exclusive title by which they are universally known. In the Jesuit Relations from New France we possess for our information and edification a series singularly unified in purpose and literary form—forty-one annual reports from the same source, published, with a single exception, by the printing-house of Cramoisy of Paris. There is a foursquareness and logicality about the series that set it apart and render it distinguished among works of colonial literature. When its notable matter is considered in conjunction with these features, one does not wonder that it has occupied

for nearly a century a distinct place in the consciousness of historian, collector, and bibliographer.

The motive that lay behind the publication of the Jesuit Relations from Canada was fundamentally that which, beginning with the holy Apostles, has animated missionary bodies in all ages in the dissemination of their reports from the field. The chief impulse of the enterprise, and, therefore, of the publications describing it, was zeal in the advancement of God's kingdom upon the earth. Next in force to this attitude of mind and spirit, almost one with it, indeed, was the element of pride—pride in the progress of the mission, pride in the example set of endurance in the faith, pride in the splendid martyrdoms of the missionaries. Mingled with these compelling emotional forces was a practical and material factor always present in the publication of missionary reports; that is, the frank recognition of the Relations as an agency for attracting to the support of the Canadian mission the good will and the gifts of pious men and women. The Society of Jesus was not accustomed to conduct its enterprises through the administration of a general fund. Each of its missions was supposed to support itself through gifts of lands, goods, and money from churches and individuals, from the state, and from converts in the field. The support of the Canadian mission was undoubtedly aided by these Relations, which kept its activities before the public in a series especially marked by regular, frequent, and continuous publication.

Other motives, less general in character, have to be considered in accounting for the zestful and vital quality of the series. At the beginning of its period of publication, 1632, stood Richelieu in high authority; at the end, 1673, was Colbert. In this period political France began to look with more than casual attention at its ancient and much neglected colony. Under these peculiar conditions, the French Jesuits must have realized the importance of their Relations as the sole chronicle, regularly pub-

lished, of French imperial expansion. From various sources they must have received encouragement for the continuance of a series of narratives as exciting as these to national pride and national aspiration, narratives which carried a message of growing importance to merchants in their counting-houses, to members of the chartered companies, to colonial officials, and to politicians at an awakened court. Learned men themselves, never inhumanly detached from the intellectual interests of the world, the members of the Society could not but appreciate also the unusual service of the Relations in the diffusion of geographical and ethnological data. In addition, therefore, to the primary motive of publication there existed these several reasons of force and variety for the printing of narratives freshly come each year from the forests and rivers and grim little cities of New France, distant land of adventuring in realms material and of the spirit.

We may think, therefore, of the Society as moved to the regular and continuous publication of its reports from Canada by these considerations of general and special character—by religious zeal, by hope of pecuniary return, and by the local interest of their matter. And we may conceive the public for which they were intended as comprising the Jesuits and other churchmen throughout Europe; the pious and philanthropic in France; politicals at court concerned with empire; merchants concerned with potential markets; the curious, always thirsty for the strange and new; and the learned, stirred by the tale of unexplored lands, of uncharted waters, of uncounted men of strange hue and custom. The laborious preparation of the Relations and the careful supervision of them in press indicate that they were not perfunctorily issued by the Society. That they were received with anything but indifference by the public is implied in the tale of second and even of third editions from the press of Cramoisy of Paris, and of editions printed in other cities of France, and in cities of Germany, Austria, and Belgium.

In the early days of revived interest in the Relations, it was found that few approximately complete collections of them existed, and from this observation came inevitably the deduction that they had been issued in small editions. In the last eighty years, however, several fairly complete sets of the Relations have been formed, and scattered numbers of the series have been acquired by many public and private libraries. It is clear that, save for certain special years, the little volumes are not so rare as at first supposed. With this condition recognized, and with the knowledge before us of the numerous contemporary reprintings of many editions, it is reasonable to suggest that the number of copies in which each Relation saw the light must, first and last, have been relatively large. It would, indeed, be strange if these narratives of high endeavor for the faith, these records of adventurous travel in unknown lands, these chronicles of empire, these treatises on the manners and customs of strange races had not created for themselves an interested and dependable public. At any rate, one finds fewer things to explain from the bibliographical standpoint by proceeding upon the reasonable assumption that the Relations were issued not in small editions for a fixed and limited group, and then forgotten in the usual manner of reports, but in comparatively large numbers for a public that awaited them eagerly and demanded from time to time reprintings of their matter. It is difficult to explain on any other ground the number and the complexity of the forms in which the great series was offered to the public.

COMPOSITION OF THE TEXTS

Students of Jesuit history and practice recognize three distinct kinds of report returned by the scattered missionaries of the Society.[1] In one sense the most important of these groups

[1] Rochemonteix (*Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, I, x–xii), discusses the three sorts of letters of the missionaries described in this section. A good idea of the Jesuit system of intercommunication and of its importance in the operations of the

was that composed of informal, intimate letters written by the missionaries to relatives, to friends in the order, to their provincials, and to the general of the Society. Not intended for publication in any form, these letters were full of personal experience and personal reflection. Unstudied, spontaneous, flavored with the bitter and the sweet of the great enterprise, such communications as these must have revealed much not ordinarily disclosed in formal documents. For this reason they provided the Society with a rich source of knowledge of its work in the field.

A second sort of letter, addressed to members of the Society, was less intimate and less concerned with the individual than with the details of his work. Letters of this group were intended, in the beginning, to be passed from one Jesuit house to another throughout Europe for the diffusion of knowledge among their inmates as to the progress of the missions. Later it became the practice to put into print a selection of these letters, or, frequently, a selection of extracts from them. Published in various cities in the universal Latin, edited by authority, these selected communications formed the body of the great series known as the *Annuae litterae Societatis Jesu ad Patres et Fratres ejusdem Societatis*, which ran from 1581 to 1654 with a long hiatus in publication covering the period 1615–49.[2] The rule of the Society forbade the members to show these compilations to persons outside the order, and though once they began to be printed such a rule was doubtless found to be a counsel of perfection, yet its existence probably resulted in the printing of editions no larger than were needed to insure dis-

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Society is attained from the early chapters of Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. I (text).

[2] Carayon (*Bibliographie historique de la Compagnie de Jésus*, pp. 2–5) lists these annuals. Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* gives them under the names of their editors. An excellent conspectus of the series, showing the year covered by each selection with the year of publication in the opposite column, is found in Streit, *Bibliotheca missionum*, I, 63–64.

tribution throughout the Jesuit houses of Europe. It may be that this supposition explains the difficulty experienced by the most assiduous collectors in forming a complete set of the series.[3]

The third sort of communication from the missionaries to the home authorities was a report intended for general publication and edited, with that end in view, by the superiors and provincials through whose hands it passed. At some stage in the existence of this report before its publication, a duplicate was sent to the general of the Society in Rome, a provision to which modern scholars are indebted for the preservation of many documents not printed at the time or printed only in abbreviated form. Among the several series of more or less regular publication emanating from this group of reports are to be found the *Epistolae Indicae*, the *Epistolae Iapanicae*, and the *Lettres du Iappon, Peru et Brasil*, of the sixteenth century; the *Lettere annue d'Etiopia, Malabar, Brasil e Goa*, and the *Lettera annua del Giappone*,[4] of the seventeenth century; and, also of that century, the series of annual publication, the reports "de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable en la Nouvelle France," which we know as the Jesuit Relations.

When in the eighteenth century, from 1702 to 1776, the general series known as *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères*[5] was being published, all three varieties of report here described were drawn upon for the material of their texts.

A modern Jesuit historian has written concerning the missionaries of New France: "The great campaigns among the

[3] An informative note on the *Annuae litterae* and on the relative completeness of the sets existing in some of the great libraries is found in Bernard Quaritch's *Catalogue*, No. 415, April, 1928, item no. 13. Since that time, changes have probably occurred in many places. The John Carter Brown set, for example, numbers eighteen volumes instead of the ten credited to it in that note.

[4] Titles of works in these, and in similar series, are found in Carayon, *op. cit.*, Troisième Partie, throughout.

[5] Streit, *op. cit.*, I, 336–37.

Indian tribes now [i.e., 1637] commenced; and during a quarter of a century they were conducted, chiefly among the Huron tribes, with a spirit of heroism and a halo of apostolic glory such as no other portion of the Jesuit missionary field over the globe has excelled in splendour."[6] It is the story of this endeavor which is found recorded annually, by the actors in it, in the series known as the Jesuit Relations.

More than one writer has loosed the rein of his imagination and pictured, veraciously, one must believe, a lonely Black Robe, uneasy in spirit, uncomfortable in body, his status as prisoner or guest imperfectly defined, sitting down amid the squalor of an Indian encampment to write to his superior in Quebec a report of the progress of his mission—all the tale, thrilling to him, of conversions, baptisms, ministerings, preachings, and celebrations of the Mass that made up his labor for the greater glory of God. Fortunately for posterity, and for the enduring fame of his narrative, he had been trained to observe the ways of the people among whom he worked, and instructed to record his observations in his reports, so that upon the warp of his missionary routine was woven in these letters a tapestry of aboriginal life, with here and there showing the thread of the writer's own personal drama—his discouragement, his distress of mind and body, his jubilation at some faint showing of success. Such reports in the form of letters or journals, coming fresh from the field of action and composed under circumstances of the greatest difficulty, provided the raw material only of the printed Relation. Into them went much that was impolitic or at best unessential to the purposes of the published series, even though this very matter may have been of the greatest interest to the governing officers of the Society. The Canadian superior, therefore, edited the original reports, removing portions here, altering the language there, and welding the several pieces be-

[6] Hughes, *op. cit.*, II (text), 232.

fore him into a concise and comprehensive story of the year's mission in Canada before sending to the French provincial in Paris the composite Relation thus formed. The year's report covered usually the twelve months from summer to summer. It seems to have been the practice of the fathers to go into the forest in the early summer with bands of Indians who had come to Montreal or Quebec in that season on trading expeditions. Whether or not they returned with similar bands in the following summer, they succeeded usually in conveying to the superior a letter or journal informing him of the progress of their work in the intervening months. It is doubtless because of this practice that most of the Relations were edited and compiled by the superiors in the summer season. Finished in July or August, or even later, as the dated signatures of many inform us, the manuscript was sent to France by an autumn ship.[7] Most of the privileges of the king and of the Society found in the printed Relations are dated in January or February of the following year, and it must have been the custom to issue the books as nearly as possible at a fixed date in the spring of each year. Before the Relation was put into type, the French provincial, with current European conditions in mind, gave it a final editing.[8] The publication that resulted from the work of these several hands is usually known by the name of the Canadian superior who unified the material, signed it, and transmitted the result, in the form of a letter, to his provincial in Paris.

The homogeneous quality of the finished Relation was extraordinary in degree in view of these repeated editings of the original material. A striking example of the method followed and of the result attained is found in Volumes LVII and LVIII of Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations*, where the report of

[7] *Le Journal des Jésuites*, eds. Laverdière and Casgrain (Quebec, 1871), enables one to reconstruct actually and imaginatively the schedule of the fathers of the Canadian mission.

[8] Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and allied documents*, I, 38. Rochemonteix (*op. cit.*, I, xii–xvii) discusses the need of editorial care in the preparation of the Relations.

1672–73, not published until 1861, is given in its original form as prepared roughly by one of the fathers acting for the superior. By means of italics and brackets, the modern editor has indicated the omissions, transpositions, and connective sentences through which the finished Relation was formed by Father Dablon, at that time superior of the Society in Canada. The notable feature of this officer's editing was the amount and character of the matter he removed from the document—weary, tedious pages of parochial detail. If the same proportion of omission was attained in the editing of the other Relations, one is moved to applaud the critical judgment of the superiors.[9] Through their skill the world has acquired a series of compact historical narratives instead of a mass of verbose documents from which the investigator of later times must have dug with pain his gems of fact. The printed Relations, in spite of their successive redactions, nevertheless bear the integrity of firsthand narratives. The journals and letters which formed their substance seem never to have been forced into a standard formula of presentation. The Relations give to one the thrill of reading personal letters written with full hearts in the midst of lives lived fully and dangerously in hope and despair, in love and fear and unfaltering purpose.

Regarding the difficult circumstances of composition of the original letters, their subsequent conveyance over forest trail and lake and river to the superior at Quebec, their editing at his hands, and their transmission to France on a ship that must cross the North Atlantic in the stormy months of October and November, it is a matter to be wondered at that, in the forty-odd years of the published series, there occurred only a single break in publication because of accident to the manuscript.

[9] Cf. Father Dablon's editing of this Relation of 1672–73 with the procedure of Father Nathaniel Southwell in compiling a general history of the Society's activities (Hughes, *op. cit.*, I [text], 63). The Jesuit method, as represented by Fathers Southwell and Dablon, seems to have been the same in Rome in 1660, or thereabouts, as in Quebec in 1673.

The Relation for 1655 was prepared with the usual care, placed upon a ship leaving Quebec about the middle of October, 1655, and upon the vessel's safe arrival at La Rochelle, delivered to the Society's messenger for transmission to Paris. It was upon the last stage of the long journey, on the relatively safe road between La Rochelle and Paris, that the evil chance occurred. Highwaymen attacked the messenger, plundered his dispatch box, and scattered his papers. Afterward he was able to collect some of the letters and papers, but the chief of them, Father Le Mercier's Relation of an important year's events, was not found at that time or later. But the continuity of the series was not entirely broken even by this mischance. Among the papers saved were two short letters from the superior to the father procurator of the Canadian mission, resident in Paris. Believing that the publication of this much was better than nothing, the Society gave the letters to the press with the title, *Copie de deux lettres envoiées de la Nouvelle France*. Doubtless this publication, with its editorial introduction containing all that could be learned of the mission from the two letters and from the other rescued papers, served excellently as an appeal to the generosity of friends of the mission. It served also to maintain the important features of regularity and continuity in the series, though its poverty of detail is so obvious that one is led at once to appreciate more fully the wealth of the finished Relations.

It is a profitable and interesting exercise to examine side by side any published example of the regular series of Relations and the two related documents described in the foregoing passages, namely, the manuscript from which by compression and excision was formed the finished Relation for the year 1672–73 and the printed *Copie de deux lettres*, of 1656, in which the editor strove with some success to expand a small narrative of fact and incident into an acceptable annual Relation. The result of such an examination is a sure increase of admiration for the sense of

fitness and the literary skill displayed by the superiors in forming the texts of the regular Relations.

HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL IMPORTANCE

It is easy to fall into generalization concerning the Jesuit method of dealing with the native races with which their business lay, easy to make assertions which may be controverted by reference to individual practices. With the qualification that there were notable exceptions to the rule, one may assert, however, that whatever the Jesuits brought with them to foreign shores of too great zeal, of the desire for dominance, of jealousy of other organizations, they wisely left behind them in Europe contempt for the heathen and satisfaction with their own ignorance of his culture.[10] They realized, as not all missionary bodies before and since have done, that victory for them lay in understanding the native habit of living and thinking. It was not only essential that they understand his language but that they learn his tribal organization, his political ideals, his motives in war, his manners in peace, his religious concepts, and his ritual observances. They were the economists among the missionaries, opposed to destruction of the religious impulse merely because it was misdirected or not directed at all. No body of missionaries ever studied in more thorough fashion the culture of the peoples among whom they worked.[11] Their Relations comprise not only the history of their own missions and many aspects of the history of French empire in Canada but they contain with these things the most complete body remaining to us from the colonial period of firsthand observation of the Indians of North America from

[10] One Jesuit writer, Lafitau, in his *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains* (1724), I, 3–5, is inclined to be critical of his predecessors in New France for their condescending attitude toward the culture of the aborigines. He, on the other hand, is disposed to lean toward the conception of "le bon sauvage."

[11] This general statement is not intended to minimize the great service of the Spanish missionaries of various orders in their studies of the native linguistics of Latin America, vastly more important than anything of the sort attempted by the Jesuits in the difficult period and under the difficult conditions of their seventeenth-century Canadian mission.

Canada to Mexico, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. For it was the custom of the Jesuit fathers in composing their reports to record their observations upon tribes and individuals; to work into their narratives the news of the forest world, of intertribal politics, of wars, harvests, and famines; to describe as it was never possible to do afterward, the treaty customs of the Indians, their feasts, their rituals, and their games. The result of this recording of incident and observation forms one of the great sources available to the modern historian of the American Indian. The question of the credibility of the Relations has been discussed by various modern writers—notably by Parkman, Thwaites, and the Jesuit Rochemonteix—with the result that today, three centuries since the first Relation appeared, the series stands more highly than ever in the regard of historians.[12]

A characteristic of the published Relations, sometimes pointed to critically, is that they fail to tell the whole story of contemporary Canadian events, even the whole story of the mission with which they were concerned. It was the recognized policy of the Society, however, whether the place was Canada or China or Malabar, to remove from the original letters unedifying details or matter which its officers deemed inexpedient for general publication. Criticism of political officers, personal or public scandals, conflicts with authority in the administration of the missions, disagreements with the secular clergy or with other religious, disagreements among themselves, backslidings and faintheartedness—this and similar matter, if published, could only have precipitated controversy and brought upon the Society the stigma of deliberate trouble-making and of interference in matters of no immediate concern to its mission. As neither the glory of God nor the weal of the colony would be served by the retention of such matter in reports of a

[12] Parkman, *The Jesuits in North America*, Preface; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, 37–42; Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

mission of evangelization, it was rigorously excised from the letters. The resulting published Relations are disappointing, therefore, to one who goes to them for the whole history of French Canada, but, aware of their incompleteness in these particulars, historians condone it as reasonable under the circumstances of their publication. They have recognized that the editing of the narratives was in the sense of selection and rejection rather than in that of dressing up the matter chosen or of juggling its facts and incidents, and by long familiarity they have found that the story in the published Relations provides, upon the subjects treated, historical evidence of the first importance.

It is not true, as some writers of modern times seem to suggest, that until the nineteenth century the Relations were without influence upon secular literature, or upon the writing of history except as practiced by Jesuit historians.[13] It is possible to support an assertion directly contrary to statements in this sense, to show that the principal writers upon New France and various annalists, religious and secular, made use of the Relations as a matter of course whenever serious work was being done upon the history of that country, and further to show that the secular literature of France—its fiction and its philosophical ideas of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—was affected in perceptible degree by the narratives of the Jesuit fathers in Canada. Of lay historians and annalists whose works provide the basis of this assertion, one is able to mention Chaulmer in 1659, Pierre Boucher in 1664, Lahontan in 1703, and, with less certainty, Bacqueville de la Potherie in 1722. The *Mercure françois* printed abridgments of two of the Relations in the earlier years of the series and occasionally thereafter extracted news from others of them. If Bacqueville de la Potherie, as I suppose, drew to some extent from the Relations, then

[13] Winsor, *Narrative and critical history of America*, IV, 296; Kenton, *The Indians of North America*, I, xv; Thwaites, *op. cit.*, I, 41–42.

the American historian of the Five Nations, Cadwallader Colden, was influenced, through reliance upon his work, by the writings of the Jesuit missionaries. In the case of the English historian and geographer, Thomas Jefferys, the supposition becomes certainty. Writing in 1760, Jefferys drew material from the Relations through the work of the Jesuit Charlevoix, and in one instance he embodied in his narrative a dramatic incident almost in the words in which it had originally appeared in the Relation of 1640.[14]

Among the religious whose works were directly affected by the Relations were Fathers Le Clercq and Hennepin, those captious representatives of the rival Recollect Order whose books enlivened the closing decades of the seventeenth century. It does not affect the force of this assertion to add that these Recollect historians went to the Relations as a source whence might be drawn material derogatory to their authors. Of Jesuit writers who made use of the Relations as the material of history must be mentioned first the compiler of the *Progressus fidei* of 1653, who translated into Latin and published in his work a large part of the Relation of 1650. Du Creux in 1664 used such of the Relations as had been published by the year 1656; Lafitau made full use of them in 1724; and Charlevoix, most important as historian of all those named, lay or clerical, paid them in 1744 the double compliment of use and praise.[15]

[14] Cf. Jefferys, *The natural and civil history of the French dominions in North and South America*, pp. 64–65, with the Relation of 1640, Part II, pp. 67–70.

[15] Specific references to evidence of influence of the Relations upon the works mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs is here given: Chaulmer, *Le Nouveau monde ou l'amérique chrestienne*, passages throughout; Boucher, *Histoire véritable du pays de la Nouvelle France*, ã vii verso; Lahontan, *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, I, leaf *4, recto and verso, shows familiarity with the Relations even though he speaks of them but to condemn; *Mercure françois*, XVIII, 56–72; XIX, 771–802; Hennepin, *Nouveau voyage* (Utrecht, 1698), pp. 337–41; Jefferys, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65, and throughout the section descriptive of the Indians; *Progressus fidei Catholicae in Novo Orbe*, pp. 3–34; Du Creux, *Historiae Canadensis*, throughout; Lafitau, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3, and 5; Charlevoix, *Histoire et description de la Nouvelle France*, "Liste des auteurs," VI, 393–94.

If one should say in derogation of the Relations that, after all, few save the Jesuit historians of New France made use of them as sources, it could be affirmed in reply that few in this period save the Jesuits were interested in composing histories of New France. And if one should say further that the Relations were ignored between the time of Charlevoix and the mid-nineteenth century, it could be justly remarked in reply that New France itself was virtually ignored in that period as the subject of historical writing.[16] Certainly in the rare instances in which historical studies were made of Canada in that term of years, as in the work of Jefferys, already cited, the influence of the Relations is unquestionably evident. It would, indeed, have been impossible for a historian following Charlevoix in point of time to escape the influence of the Relations. That author's use of them, and his description of the series in his bibliographical appendix, put the Jesuit narratives definitely on record as historical material, and if there had been any historians of New France active in the century following the publication of his *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France*, the Relations would inevitably have been numbered among their sources. But when the subject itself disappeared from view, its sources, naturally, did not remain conspicuous. The revival of interest in the Relations in the nineteenth century was simply an evidence of a revival of interest in the subject these writings underlay. When the historians of this period "discovered" the Relations, they merely picked up the threads of a tradition old and secure in the historiography of New France.[17]

[16] In the century following Charlevoix numerous narratives of personal travel in Canada were published, and innumerable tracts of a political nature, but one looks in vain for a formal history of the country of the sort that is based upon earlier writings.

[17] The beginning of recent interest in the Relations in this country is usually dated from Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan's "Jesuit Relations," a brief work comprising a descriptive article, a catalogue of the Relations, and a table showing location of copies in the United States and Canada. This important bibliographical contribution was published in the *Proceedings of the New York Historical Society*, November, 1847. The historians followed tardily in the footsteps of the bibliographers and collectors. There existed already in

Because of the interest of scholars of the present day in literary influences and in the sources of ideas found in the works of great men of letters, it is easy to support the assertion that the Relations have affected literature as well as history. Particularly helpful to this end are the various studies of exoticism in which Gilbert Chinard has demonstrated the influence of narratives of travel in America upon French literature and ideas of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[18] This author remarks of the philosophical concept of "le bon sauvage," for example, that "Montaigne, Lescarbot, les Jésuites sont responsables de cette légende." In the *Influence des récits de voyages sur la philosophie de J. J. Rousseau*, he concludes that, even if Rousseau did not know the works of Lescarbot and Lafitau, he must have known Charlevoix's "l'*Histoire de la Nouvelle France* ... qui n'est qu'un résumé assez bien fait des ouvrages des Jésuites sur l'Amérique." In his studies of Chateaubriand, Chinard calls attention to the direct influence of Charlevoix and Lafitau upon the author of *Atala*, *Les Natchez*, and *Voyage en Amérique*. He shows by comparison of passages the derivation of ideas, scenes, and incidents from the Relations by way of the works of these later Jesuit writers. He suggests, in some instances, an even more direct influence of the Relations upon the work of the great French romanticist. But it is more particularly in his larger work, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, that Chinard has emphasized the place of the Rela-

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this country in 1847 four libraries owning more than twenty Relations; namely, the Gallatin, Murphy, Harvard College, and John Carter Brown libraries. Of these, Harvard led with forty, and John Carter Brown, a private collector, came next with thirty-eight. Messrs. Murphy and Gallatin claimed twenty-nine and twenty-two respectively. James Lenox, so soon to surpass them all in the possession of Relations, is not mentioned in the list.

[18] *Influence des récits de voyages sur la philosophie de J. J. Rousseau*, reprinted from *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XXVI, 3, esp. pp. 492–93; *Chateaubriand en Amérique*, reprinted from *Modern Philology*, IX, No. 1, July, 1911, throughout; *L'Exotisme américain dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand*, throughout; *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique*, esp. pp. 122–87, 313–65.

tions in the background of French thought of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Working upon similar lines, over a wider field, including African and Asiatic voyages in his investigations, Geoffroy Atkinson points to instances in which the Jesuit Relations from New France bore their share, direct and indirect, in the formation of various political, literary, and moral ideas of the later centuries.[19] It could hardly have been otherwise than that the matter of this great series of stirring narratives, published regularly over so long a period, digested in the works of Lafitau and Charlevoix of the next century, should have become part of the consciousness of the French people and have made itself apparent in their later literature.

No better testimony exists of the esteem in which the Relations have been held by modern historians than the reprintings of the series in whole or in part which have occurred in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In 1858 the Canadian government issued in three thick octavo volumes the *Relations des Jésuites*, comprising the Biard and Lallemant letters of 1616 and 1627, respectively, and the Cramoisy series from 1632 to 1673. The Burrows Brothers Company of Cleveland, Ohio, in the period 1896–1901, brought out *The Jesuit Relations and allied documents* under the editorship of Reuben Gold Thwaites, with bibliographical notes by Victor Hugo Paltsits which, for the selection of essential data and for conciseness of statement, may well be taken as models for investigations of a like character in various fields. This great work in seventy-three volumes comprises not only the original Cramoisy series but such related matter as served to complete the story of the Jesuit missions in America. There are found reprinted in it, for example, Shea's *Cramoisy series* (1857–69) comprising Relations which had been prepared for publication after 1672 and not

[19] Atkinson (*The extraordinary voyage in French literature from 1700 to 1720*, pp. 10 and 32) refers in passing to the influence of the Jesuit Relations. He is more explicit in *Les Relations de voyages du XVII^e siècle et l'évolution des idées*, pp. 31, 70–72, 119–21, 166–67.

printed at the time; the O'Callaghan series of unpublished documents of an earlier date; the *Relations inédites* published in Paris in 1861; the *Journal des Jésuites* printed in 1871 from the original manuscript in Laval University, Quebec; such extracts from the *Lettres édifiantes* as bear upon the North American missions; and unpublished material of different sorts from various depositories.[20] The Thwaites collection presents the original texts with English translations of these varied documents, and an elaborate equipment of critical notes and elucidative comment. In 1927, Edna Kenton published her excellent selection, *The Indians of North America*, made from Thwaites's translation with Thwaites's notes, of all passages in the Relations dealing with the Indians among whom the Jesuits worked and those more distant tribes with which they came into incidental contact. This book provides for the ethnologist a unified body of observation of the North American Indian as he appeared to the first Europeans who took the trouble to study him carefully —the Indian in what is now the United States and Canada before contact with the white man had broken his organization, confused his tribal demarcations, and set back the progress of his hardly won culture. Its two volumes provide a striking tribute of our time to the value and enduring interest of the Jesuit Relations.[21]

It is the ethnological material found in the Relations, and the quantity of this becomes apparent in a glance through Miss Kenton's two volumes, which has won the grateful recognition of scholars of the present day. Many historians of an earlier generation—Parkman, Bancroft, Shea, Rochemonteix—drew upon the Relations for the history of seventeenth-century

[20] Descriptions of the two series edited by Shea and O'Callaghan are found in *Contributions to a catalogue of the Lenox Library, No. II: The Jesuit Relations*, pp. 15–19; of the *Relations inédites* in the same bibliography, p. 14; of the *Journal des Jésuites*, p. 15. The Canadian government edition of the *Relations des Jésuites* is described in the same bibliography, p. 14.

[21] Kenton, *op. cit.*

Canada, and, as long as interest continues in that subject, historians will go to the Jesuit narratives for their graphic picture of the frontiers of an American empire. But at the present time it is the picture of the Indian found in their pages that makes them an indispensable document of American history. This is true in spite of the fact that the writers of the Relations were ethnologists only by accident. In any statement of the ethnological value of the series, it must be remembered that the Jesuit missionaries were merely "field agents" in the modern scientific practice, collectors of data by firsthand observation. They had not the background of ethnologic study as it is understood today, nor had they either opportunity or inclination to work over their material afterward in library and museum in order to correlate their observations with the works of other men on primitive peoples. It is, therefore, as primary material only that their narratives have value for the modern ethnologist. The same reservation holds with regard to the Relations as history. Their writers were too close to the events they recorded to be able to rationalize them. One does not look for the history of a campaign from a soldier in the ranks, but it is from the accumulated experience of many soldiers that the historian makes his final statement.

THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE SERIES

The cause of the sudden and unexplained cessation of publication of the Relations after 1673 has given bibliographer and historian matter for ineffectual conjecture almost since that year.[22] The Jansenist, Arnaud, professed enemy of the Society, asked whether it were true that the Propaganda, that is, the powerful Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, had ordered the discontinuance of the series because of the falsities found in its narratives. The writer of a memoir in the *Morale pratique des Jésuites* af-

[22] The conclusions set forth in this section are those found in Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, I, xxvii–lxiv. That exposition is so clear and so well documented that its explanation of the discontinuance of the series carries immediate conviction.

firmed that Courcelles, governor of New France, had represented the untrustworthiness of the Relations so strongly that the royal government had ordered their publication discontinued.[23] In spite of the failure of Harrisse to find the document upon which this assertion was supposed to rest, modern historians and editors, even Thwaites, writing in the Introduction to his monumental edition of the series, have continued to suppose that it was political pressure from Canada which brought the series to an end.[24] The true explanation of its discontinuance has been discovered, however, through a series of investigations by Jesuit and other Catholic historians of the second half of the nineteenth century. It was only in 1895, the year before the publication of Thwaites's first volume, that Father Camille de Rochemonteix, S.J., in the introduction to *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVII^e siècle*, brought about a better understanding of the matter by carrying out fully and giving wider currency to the studies on this point earlier published by the Abbé Verreau and the Jesuit, Father Joseph Brucker. Previous investigations had been ineffective, except in a negative sense, partly because those who undertook them had persisted in thinking of the Jesuit mission in Canada as something apart from general Jesuit and Roman Catholic history. The reason for the suppression of the Relations was not indeed the displeasure of the Propaganda with this specific series of Jesuit writings, not

[23] Harrisse, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire, à la bibliographie et à la cartographie de la Nouvelle-France, 1545–1700*, pp. 59–60 and notes. The author of the memoir in question is supposed to have been the Sulpician d'Allet, who had lived for a long period in Canada.

[24] In Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LV, 315–16, however, Victor Hugo Paltsits, bibliographical adviser of the work, excellently summarized Rochemonteix's discussion of the discontinuance of the series. In his edition of Hennepin's *New discovery* (Chicago, 1903), II, 587–88, Thwaites gave a reference to Paltsits's note in the *Jesuit Relations* which showed his awareness of the new research of Father Rochemonteix. A variant of the belief that the series was brought to an end by official command is found in the theory of Father Martin (see his Introduction to the *Relations inédites* of 1861, esp. I, xxii–xxvi) that the Jesuits themselves, faced by the enmity of Frontenac, had given over its publication as a measure of prudence.

a result of French colonial politics or court intrigue, not a slowly declining interest in their matter, but, more simply, the stirring-up at this time of the mind of the church in regard to an aspect of its general missionary policy hitherto not pronounced upon with finality.

Since the early days of Christianity it has been a question as to the extent to which the new religion might tolerate the local cults and practices with which it comes into contact in its missionary activities. Through the centuries vestiges of pagan belief and practice have become imbedded in the faith without detriment to its beauty and without noticeable effect upon the purity of the original conception. Indeed, the imagination of many within the Christian fold has always been engaged by the idea of eclectic absorption, of grafting good shoots of the elder vines upon the firm and vigorous trunk of the new. But others have insisted upon a complete rooting-out and destruction of the old religions to clear the ground for the "faith as once delivered to the saints." This conflict of opinion became active in the second half of the seventeenth century through the toleration by the Jesuits in China of the universal cult of the country, the veneration rendered Heaven, Confucius, and ancestors by the natives among whom they labored. The learned members of the mission conducted over a period of years an intensive study of the "Chinese Rites," and at its conclusion sent one of their number to Rome to present the results of their investigation to the pope and the cardinals. After a deliberation of several months the Congregation of the Inquisition, on March 23, 1656, issued a decree with the approval of Pope Alexander VII which declared that the cult in question was purely civil and "de police." Upon the basis of this decision the Jesuits in China continued to tolerate the native veneration of Confucius and ancestors, but in spite of the latitude of the Congregation's decree the Dominicans and Franciscans in the China mission remained fixed in their opposition to the native rites. Though

it seemed at one time as if the missionaries in the field might reach an agreement upon the decree as an "opinion très probable," and so have it accepted as a basis of action by all the orders represented in China, their efforts at accord fell short of attainment, and the agitation of the Chinese Rites continued to distress the church. To put an end to the public discussion of a question that created so much bitterness, the Propaganda, by a decree of December 19, 1672, interdicted the publication of all writings on missionary activities without its written authorization. In the brief *Creditae nobis coelitus* of April 6, 1673, Clement X confirmed the decree of the Propaganda, ordered that its authorization should be printed at the beginning of all books on missions, and threatened excommunication as the penalty of disobedience. This papal utterance did not pretend to settle the question of the Chinese Rites, which remained a subject of discord until the final pronouncement against them by Benedict XIV in the bull *Ex quo singulari* in 1742, but for the time being it effectually removed the subject from the field of discussion.

Though the Relations from New France had not contained material bearing upon this controversy, and consequently had not been specifically in the mind of the Propaganda in formulating this decree, yet by indirect effect they were brought to an immediate end because of its provisions. The spirit of Gallicanism had so taken possession of France that the Parlement of Paris denied the authority in that country of the Roman Congregation. A French book bearing the privilege of the Propaganda would have been refused the right of publication.[25] If the Jesuits, disregarding the decree and the papal brief, had

[25] Rochemonteix (*op. cit.*, I, liv) quotes from a letter of Père de la Chaise to the Jesuit general in which the king's confessor tells of his efforts to save from suppression a book lately issued in Paris with the imprimatur of the Propaganda. He was able to prevent its suppression only with the greatest difficulty. For reference to a regulation of the Parlement of Paris, of 1665, in which appears an expression of Gallicanism in relation to the publication of books, see n. 26 below.

continued the publication of their Relations without the privilege of the Propaganda printed upon them, those of the Society in authority would have suffered the worst of all disciplinary penalties at the hands of the church. Because, therefore, the Jesuits in China, and others there and elsewhere, tolerated the performance of native rites by their converts, the Relations from New France ceased to be published with the volume issued in the year 1673.

The Jesuit authorities in France failed to find the comfort they had a right to expect from having exercised so promptly the virtue of obedience. As year succeeded year without a resumption of the series, various civil officials to whom the Canadian Relations had been useful—the minister of the marine, governors of colonies, directors of commercial enterprises—complained to the king of the cessation of these informative Jesuit reports. In January, 1680, the Conseil du roi instructed the king's Jesuit confessor, the Père François de la Chaise, to communicate to the general of the Society the royal wish that the annual publication of the series be resumed and that there be printed the reports received from New France since the last publication of a Relation in 1673. The general was to be told also that no other privilege was requisite in France besides that of the regularly constituted censorship of that kingdom.[26] One may question the extent to which this action was an aggressive move in the Gallican campaign rather than a genuine concern for the resumption of the Relations; but, whatever may have been the motive of king and council, it is clear enough that their decision in the matter brought embarrassment to the Jesuit general, placing him squarely between the horns of royal displeasure and papal excommunication. In this uncomfortable position he remained until Père de la Chaise,

[26] The *édit* of Louis XIV of September, 1651, and the *arrêt* of the parlement of Paris, of February 25, 1665 (see n. 25 above) constituted the authorized board of censors referred to in this instance. For the gist of these acts see Chevillier, *L'Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris*, pp. 407–8.

some months later, was able to persuade the king to withdraw the order in council. This effort on the part of the government to bring about the resumption of the series of Canadian Relations is an important feature in their history, providing additional refutation of the old tradition that it was governmental displeasure which, a few years earlier, had brought them to an end. But the series was never resumed. Sworn to the most literal obedience to the pope, the Society of Jesus soon found itself in special discomfort in France, where it was haunted by the strange specters of Gallican Liberties, Conciliar Authority, and Droit de régale. When the subversive Four Articles of 1682 had been forgotten by the rest of France, the Jesuits looked back upon them as the first blow in the battle which led to the Society's suppression in that country some eighty years after their promulgation.

THE PRINTERS

One of the features of the Jesuit Relations from New France that lends unity to the series is the uniformity in size and typographical style of the volumes that compose it. Disregarding the Bressani Relation of Macerata (1653), the whole series comprises forty-one separate contemporary Relations in one hundred and thirty-one editions and variants.[27] Of this whole number, forty Relations in one hundred and nineteen editions and variants were issued by the single Parisian printing-house of Sébastien Cramoisy and his successor Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy. A single original edition and three variants of it

[27] Mr. McCoy includes in his *Jesuit Relations of Canada* (Paris, 1937), quite properly, Bressani's *Breve Relatione* of Macerata, 1653. In spite of its historical importance, I have omitted it from my computation. It was not part of the series in the intention of author and publisher. It was issued under different auspices for a different group of readers, and it was printed in a different language, in a different place, in a different format. The figure given here for the number of variant forms in which the Relations were issued is only approximate, representing the number recorded by Mr. McCoy in his Synoptic Table. Before the printing of his book had been completed, however, several variants not recorded in the table had been discovered and recorded by his editors.

were printed by Jean le Boullenger at Rouen in 1638, and six reprinted editions issued from presses in Avignon, Innsbruck, Lille, Antwerp, and Cologne.

Almost throughout the seventeenth century, the Cramoisy establishment led the printers of Paris in the production of works of secular and religious scholarship. It printed many books for the Jesuits and, like other printers in France and elsewhere, frequently substituted the Jesuit emblem, the monogram IHS, for its own picturesque device upon the title-pages of books printed on behalf of the Society. It is an anomaly, which need not detain us beyond the time required to remark its occurrence, that only one of the original Cramoisy Relations, and that the last in the series, appeared with the sacred monogram upon its title-page. Some of the volumes were issued with an ornamental vignette in this place, but by far the greater number bore a small woodcut form of the celebrated Cramoisy printer's mark—two storks, one sustaining and feeding the other in flight.[28] Before the beginning of the New France series the Society in Paris had sometimes employed Sébastien Cramoisy to print missionary reports, but that its patronage of him was not invariable is learned from the imprint of the Lallemant letter from Canada, published in 1627. In 1632, however, the provincial chose this printer for the first Relation of Father Le Jeune, and annually[29] thereafter until 1673, with a single exception, a vellum-bound volume, small octavo in size, containing the year's report from the Canadian mission, came from his flourishing establishment. The Relation of Rouen, 1638, was

[28] Different cuts of the device have been employed throughout the series, but, in details of size and execution, all resemble No. 87 in Laurent-Vibert and Audin, *Les Marques de libraires et d'imprimeurs en France aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles* (Paris, 1925).

[29] The word "annually" may properly be used here even though no Relations appeared bearing the dates 1633 and 1639. The royal privilege was granted for the annual letters of 1633 and 1639 in December of each of the years named, and the Relations appeared in 1634 and 1640, respectively, doubtless early in the year in each case.

the only one of the original series which bore in its imprint the name of another printer.

The origin of this celebrated printing-house was misunderstood by early historians of the Parisian press. Writing in 1689, La Caille described the Sébastien Cramoisy whose name appears on the Jesuit Relations as the son of an earlier Sébastien Cramoisy and Elisabeth Nivelle.[30] Later writers adopted the error and added circumstance to it. Ph. Renouard, relying upon Lottin, gives two printers named Sébastien Cramoisy, distinguishes them as Sébastien I and Sébastien II, fixes 1589 as the year in which Sébastien I began as publisher, calls him the chief of the Cramoisy dynasty, and marries him, as had La Caille two centuries earlier, to Elisabeth Nivelle, daughter of the printer, Sébastien Nivelle.[31] According to the researches of Georges Lepreux, however, afterward fully accepted by Renouard,[32] this Sébastien Cramoisy I never existed. The Sébastien Cramoisy who founded the house, and whom we know as the printer of the Jesuit Relations, was the son of a merchant named Pierre Cramoisy and the Elisabeth Nivelle already mentioned.[33] Born in 1585 or 1586, Sébastien was named after his maternal grandfather and brought up to his trade. Not long after Nivelle's death in 1603, the grandson succeeded to his business and adopted his device, *la marque aux cicognes*. He was received by his guild as printer and bookseller in 1606, accredited as one of the twenty-four *libraires jurés* of the University in 1610, and thenceforward, save for a brief

[30] La Caille, *Histoire de l'imprimerie*, pp. 193–96.

[31] Ph. Renouard, *Imprimeurs parisiens*, p. 86.

[32] Renouard's correction of his error is found in his supplementary series in *Revue des bibliothèques*, XXXII (juillet-septembre, 1922), 282. I owe thanks to the late Leonard L. Mackall for this reference.

[33] This account of Sébastien Cramoisy and of his successors is drawn from the study of these celebrated printers in Lepreux, *Gallia typographia* (Série parisienne), I, 156–76, 371–78. A portrait of Sébastien is found in *The colophon* (N.S.), II, No. 1 (autumn, 1936), 36, reproduced from the original in the Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale (Catalogue Duplessis, No. 11081). See Lepreux, I, 176.

residence at Pont-à-Mousson, carried on the printing and publishing business at Paris in the Rue Saint-Jacques "aux Cicognes." In 1629 he was designated sole printer to the Cour des Monnaies, and two years later he, with several others, was granted by Cardinal Richelieu the privilege of printing and selling liturgical works. He was appointed in 1633 *imprimeur ordinaire* to the king with the very lucrative privilege of printing royal edicts, ordinances, and other administrative documents of the sort. When the Imprimerie Royale was founded in 1640, he became its director. His conduct of the new office laid the foundation for the great reputation which came with the years to that notable institution. Various national, civic, and guild honors were conferred upon him, and, at his death in 1669 at the age of eighty-three, he was acknowledged the leading printer of his city with an extraordinary accomplishment behind him in the production of important works in the Greek and Latin languages as well as in the French. Associated with Sébastien Cramoisy during part of his career was his brother, Gabriel, but it was his grandson, Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, son of his daughter, Marie, and Pierre Mabre, who succeeded him as head of the establishment. Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy followed his grandfather immediately as director of the Imprimerie Royale, in which position he in turn was succeeded by his widow at his death in 1687. The stork device employed by Sébastien Nivelle, Sébastien Cramoisy, and Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy has descended in the hands of the various Parisian printers to our own time.[34]

When the Jesuit provincial of France in 1632 was looking for a printer for Father Le Jeune's Relation from New France, the earlier experience of the Society in Paris with Cramoisy might well have sent him to the Sign of the Storks in the Rue Saint Jacques even if the proprietor of that establishment had not

[34] Renouard (*Imprimeurs parisiens*, p. 281) says that in 1898 the MM. Delalain were the proprietors of this famous printer's mark.

been growing steadily in the intervening years in the esteem of men of church and state and university. It may mean much or nothing in this connection that Cramoisy was among those individuals chartered as the Compagnie de la Nouvelle France, that celebrated organization, better known as the Compagnie des Cents Associés, patented in 1627 under the protection of Richelieu for the colonization of Canada, the first serious attempt at the settlement and normal development of the country. But regardless of this already established Canadian association, it was a natural enough action for the provincial to choose him, because of past association with the Society, as the printer of the Le Jeune Relation of 1632 and, satisfaction given in that instance, to continue him, when the publication of a series had been determined upon, as the printer of the later reports.

The explanation of the printing of the Relation of 1638 at Rouen by Jean le Boullenger seems never to have been attempted by students of Jesuit bibliography. It could hardly have been caused by any such chance as a visit of the provincial to the Jesuits of Rouen at the time the Relation was in process of editing at his hands. The action was of the most deliberate character. The book contains the royal privilege granting the right of its publication to Le Boullenger, and the permission of the provincial, dated at Paris, naming the same printer. There had been no earlier Cramoisy edition of this Relation. The book, therefore, was not a *contrefaçon*, or pirated edition, of a Parisian publication, such as came often enough from the Rouen printing-houses. The shop of Jean le Boullenger[35] in Rouen was near the Jesuit college, his earliest privilege from the Parlement of Rouen had been granted for the printing of a Jesuit book, and at a later period, certainly, he divided with the Lallemant establishment the Jesuit business of that city. The Relation

[35] An account of Jean le Boullenger of Rouen is found in Lepreux, *op. cit.* (Série départementale), III (Normandie), pp. 234–36.

of Rouen, 1638,[36] was a legitimate publication, and it would be a satisfaction to know the special circumstances which caused it to be printed in that city by Le Boullenger.

It is possible that this change of printers was brought about by the simplest of economic causes. The Rouen printer may have assured the provincial that he could bring out the annual Relations at a cost much lower than must be charged by a Parisian printer of the first rank, presenting to him exactly the same arguments as those used today by small-town printers ambitious to attract to themselves the trade of their metropolitan brother-craftsmen. Until a more interesting cause for the change appears, it is not too naïve, perhaps, to assume that it was brought about through circumstances of a character that weighed with the patrons of the press as heavily in the seventeenth century as in our own period; that is, the economic consideration here suggested. If this explanation is tenable it may be further suggested that the provincial learned from the experience that cheap printing is not always an economy.

One surmises that the defection of the provincial from the Cramoisy press could not have been a matter of indifference to its proprietor, especially as that action benefited a rival printer for whom he probably felt little affection. Seven years before this time the Parlement of Rouen had granted Jean le Boullenger the right to print a Jesuit book entitled *Trésor de phrases choisies des meilleurs autheurs latins*. Cramoisy felt himself injured by this action, and, upon his representation that he possessed already a royal privilege for the publishing of this work, the Conseil Privé du Roy issued an *arrêt* on April 2, 1632, annulling the privilege granted Le Boullenger by his local Parlement and ordering confiscation of the whole edition of the work.[37] On this account, one would not look for an amicable

[36] Lepreux seems not to have known of this Relation of 1638. See work cited in preceding note.

[37] Lepreux, *op. cit.* (Série départementale), III (Normandie), Documenta, pp. 171 and 174.

trade arrangement between the two printers by means of which the Relation of 1638 might for some good reason have been published in Rouen. If such an arrangement had been made, moreover, Cramoisy's name as bookseller would almost certainly have been found on the title-page of the Paris issue of the book. Instead of that name, we find the less familiar one of Pierre de Bresche. Cramoisy was entirely out of the picture, and Le Boullenger was probably not sorry that this was the case. That *arrêt* of the council in 1632 could not have been a pleasing remembrance to the Rouen printer.

The return of the provincial to Sébastien Cramoisy for the printing of the Relations was as sudden as his defection. One is able to suggest as its causes the provincial's displeasure with the typographical errors found in the Rouen edition of 1638, and his realization that, living in Paris, he would be unable to supervise future Relations printed in Rouen as carefully as he thought necessary and proper.[38] There was a degree of precipitancy about his resumption of relations with Cramoisy, and a finality in the terms of the new agreement with his former printer that hint at stronger considerations underlying the action. In the absence of any clue to the nature of these, however, one falls back, for reasons to be given, upon the explanation just suggested. The provincial's approbation of the Rouen edition had been dated January 22, 1638; the royal privilege bore the date of February 5, 1638. The new permission of the Society for Cramoisy was dated March 26, 1638. One realizes from a consideration of these dates that, if it was, indeed, the

[38] In a day when printers ordinarily possessed small fonts of type, they were accustomed to compose, correct, print a few sheets, and immediately distribute the type for use in succeeding sections of the book. Unless the author or editor were at hand to read his page proofs (there were no galley proofs), he usually had no opportunity to correct his own work. The distance between Paris and Rouen would have made supervision all but impossible under these circumstances without extraordinary inconvenience to the printer. This aspect of printing-house practice explains the apology for errors, often found in old books, in which the faults are accounted for by "the author's distance from the press."

errors in the Rouen book which determined the provincial to resume relations with Cramoisy, that book must have been published promptly after the receipt of the royal privilege, sometime, to be exact, in the seven weeks between February 5 and March 26. In that case the provincial would have had time to become cognizant of its typographical imperfections and, impatient because of them, to make out his new permission for the Parisian house. It would have been an impulsive action under the circumstances, for the next Relation in which it could be used was neither in hand nor expected to arrive for several months. It is not improbable that the Rouen book was, indeed, published very early in the year 1638, for its author, Father Le Jeune, had received and read it in distant Canada before he finished the composition of his next Relation in August of that year. In this Relation he commented upon the number and character of the typographical errors in the Rouen book. He specified one of these as being particularly gross, describing it with the whimsicality often employed by authors who have been made to utter absurdities by the mordant carelessness of compositors. The laughter with which he says he greeted this error must have had a rueful note in it, for, having written that he proposed to use exorcism against Satan, the printer made him say that he intended to attack the Adversary with a sword.[39] If this error and others less serious had been noticed by the provincial upon his first reading of the book from Rouen, it is quite conceivable that he would immediately have made other arrangements for future Relations. A few dollars saved in printing costs does not compensate for the amused sympathy of friends and the ridicule of enemies.

Whatever may have been the cause of the return to Cramoisy, the conditions of it seem to have been very much to the advantage of the Parisian printer. The approbation of the

[39] *Relation* of Paris, 1638, Part I, pp. 77–78.

Society addressed to Cramoisy in the Relation of 1632, wrongly headed "Privilège du roy," had given that printer the right to print the specific Relation of 1632. Thereafter, whenever for some years the approbation was included in the book, as in 1636 and 1637, and in the Rouen editon of 1638, it had in each case been granted for the specific Relation to which it was attached. In the Relation of Paris, 1638, however, the first printed by Cramoisy after the break, the permission of the Society read as follows: "Nous Estienne Binet ... avons accordé pour l'advenir au Sieur Sebastien Cramoisy, Marchand Libraire, Imprimeur ordinaire du Roy, l'impression des Relations de la Nouvelle France. Faict à Paris le 26. Mars 1638." The phrase "for the future" and the inclusive title "Relations de la Nouvelle France" evidence not only a new and more stable arrangement of the Society with Cramoisy but provide the earliest indication of an intention on its part to continue the series indefinitely.

Four years later, in the Relation of 1642, appeared a permission of the Society which indicated a new and even closer association with Cramoisy in the printing of the Relations. The essential clauses were these: "... Permettons à Sebastien Cramoisy ... d'imprimer la Relation ... és annés 1640. & 1641. tant de fois, & en telle forme & caractère que bon luy semblera, avec pouvoir aussi d'imprimer toutes autres Relations de ladite Nouvelle France. ..." In few instances has it happened that such unusual powers as are expressed in this instrument have been delegated to a printer. The deduction from its terms must be that Cramoisy had relieved the Society wholly of the financial responsibility of the series of New France Relations and had taken it over as one of his own publishing ventures. No other considerations occur to explain why the Society should have so completely committed itself to its printer. From this time until 1664, after which year it ceased to be included

in the book,[40] the Society's permission read, in effect, in the same terms, and until the discontinuance of the series in 1673, the house of Cramoisy was its printer. These little reports of the Canadian missions, sold at "vingt sols" a copy,[41] were among the most modest of the Cramoisy publications, but today they are, as a group, the most "collected" of any books from that house. Because of them the Cramoisy establishment is known to many who would never have learned of its existence through acquaintance with its learned classical and theological publications.

There is another indication that Sébastien Cramoisy had taken a special interest in the Canadian mission and in all that pertained to it. In the Relation of 1666, and in others following, is found a "Lettre de la R. Mère Supérieure" asking aid of various sorts for the Hospitalières of Quebec. These letters are addressed to "Monsieur **** Bourgeois de Paris," and to them is usually appended a note saying that the contributions of the pious to this institution will be received not by the Society of Jesus but by the printer of the appeal, Monsieur Cramoisy, generally styled in those notes, "Bourgeois de Paris."

After the death of Sébastien Cramoisy in 1669, his firm, under the management of Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy continued the publication of the Relations. The permission of the Society had ceased appearing in the volumes with the Relation of 1664, but the royal privilege, granting Cramoisy the right to

[40] One seeks in vain for an explanation of the discontinuance of the use of the Society's permission in the Relations after 1664. It might be supposed that the Gallicanism apparent in the *arrêt* of the parlement of Paris, of February 25, 1665 (Chevillier, *op. cit.*, pp. 407–8; referred to also in nn. 25 and 26 above) had been an indirect cause of the disappearance of the permission from the Relations but for the circumstance that the document continued to appear in other Jesuit books of French publication (see, e.g., Ragueneau, *La Vie de la Mère Catherine de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1671). Possibly it began to be felt, belatedly, that repetition of the permission was unnecessary in view of the sweeping character it had borne since 1638, when the provincial had granted Sébastien Cramoisy the right of printing the Relations "for the future," and later, in 1642, had given him complete control over the publication.

[41] Harrisse, *op. cit.*, No. 146.

print, was still to be found in its customary place. For some reason this privilege was not renewed after that one which was signed in January, 1667, giving permission to print the Relation for the year 1665–66, but the instrument of that date appears again in the Relation of 1668, bearing the imprint of Sébastien Cramoisy, and thereafter, between 1668 and 1672, the same privilege of the same date is printed in three of the successive Relations published by Mabre-Cramoisy. In two cases in this period the privilege is omitted altogether. One finds also that, in those later instances in which he used this privilege of 1667, the printer has changed the date of the Relation for which the privilege was originally granted to correspond to the date of the Relation with which it is printed. In the Relation of 1672, he has taken matters into his own hands and, instead of naming in the document a specific, dated Relation, he has substituted the more general title "Les Relations ... de la Nouvelle France." In all these cases, regardless of the later dates named in the body of the document, the date of the privilege remains as when it was first issued, that is, "en Janvier 1667." In the Relation of 1673, this much-used royal privilege has disappeared and in its place is the curtly worded "Permis d'Imprimer. Fait ce 9 Janvier 1673. Signé, De la Reynie." Nicolas Gabriel de la Reynie, the king's celebrated *lieutenant de police*, seems to have exercised a certain degree of supervision over the publication of books, but his authority was chiefly in the direction of preventing irregularity. It is very unusual to find him granting authorization to print. These extraordinary features in connection with the publication of the later numbers of the series give rise to perplexity, but, whatever the explanation of the irregularity, it may be taken for granted that it was more on the surface than real. It is not likely that Sébastien Cramoisy and Sébastien Mabre-Cramoisy, successively, in this period, directors of the Imprimerie Royale, would have consistently violated the royal regulations concerning the publishing of books.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF THE RELATIONS

The earliest appearance of any of the Relations in a printed list of books occurred when the series had just passed its first decade of existence. The *Bibliotheca scriptorum Societatis Jesu* of Father Philippe Alegambe contains under the names of the authors the titles of some of the Relations issued up to the time of publication of that book in 1643. The successive editions of this official Jesuit bibliography, as carried on by Southwell, the De Backers, and Sommervogel, contain titles of Relations scattered under names of authors throughout their numerous volumes. In 1643 appeared also Gabriel Naudé's catalogue of the library of Jean des Cordes, in which are listed the titles of the Relations issued previous to the death of des Cordes in 1642. With justice, therefore, this French amateur may be regarded as the first collector of the Relations. The fact of his preserving them is corroborative of statements previously made as to the degree and kind of interest in the series that existed contemporaneously with its publication. In the list of works consulted by Charlevoix in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1744) is found an entry of the first Relation followed by an excellent note descriptive of the whole series. But interest in bibliographical details was not a characteristic of eighteenth-century writers. It was not until late in the nineteenth century that the series as a whole was competently described. A revival of interest in the Relations, as already told, began with a paper by E. B. O'Callaghan published in the *Proceedings of the New York Historical Society*. This excellent account of the series with its enumeration and location of known copies was followed by a work which is regarded as the true beginning of the bibliography of the Relations, that is, Henry Harrisse's *Notes ... la Nouvelle France* (1872). Here is the first treatment of the Relations with which the modern scholar feels at home, and, no matter what has been done since or may yet be done, the

investigator finds the schedule of the series so firmly fixed by Harrisse that he must inevitably return to his entries as basic references. In this, as in all his undertakings, the great pioneer figure in the bibliography of Americana remains the underlying authority. The list compiled by James Lenox, *Contributions to a catalogue of the Lenox Library. No. II. The Jesuit Relations, etc.* (1879), carried the subject appreciably beyond the point where Harrisse left it. In 1884, Justin Winsor in Volume IV of his *Narrative and critical history of America* gave a full list and located copies of the books in American libraries, but it was not until the period 1896–1901 that a new authority arose in that field. In those years appeared in seventy-three volumes the great Reuben Gold Thwaites edition of the Relations. At the conclusion of each Relation in this collection was placed a note on the book, entitled "Bibliographical data," by Victor Hugo Paltsits, the bibliographical adviser of the project. Unhappily, these full, learned, and exact descriptions have never been extracted for separate publication from the large and unwieldy set of books in which they are imbedded. Even those whose duty and inclination lead them most strongly to the consultation of works of reference like, if possible, to have information laid conveniently before them. The authoritative Paltsits notes on the Relations have been the basis of the entries in the Church and the John Carter Brown catalogues and, through these, in the less formal catalogues of numerous collectors and booksellers of the last thirty-five years.[42]

The most recent bibliography of the Relations is *Jesuit relations of Canada 1632–1673: a bibliography*,[43] by the late James Comly McCoy, published in Paris in the spring of 1937. It com-

[42] I wish to express appreciation here of a pleasant and helpful correspondence with Mr. Paltsits in connection with the preparation of this study.

[43] Mr. McCoy's bibliography was in press at the time this paper on its subject was read before the Bibliographical Society of America in 1936. Obviously there has been an alteration in the author's wording, necessitated by the publication of the book before the publication of the paper.

prises (*a*) references in its entries to the several bibliographies just named, so that it contains, or is a guide to, all that has previously been brought together on the subject; (*b*) significant additions to the content of previous bibliographies; and (*c*) an important change in method. The additions in content are in the form of descriptions of variations not previously noted, and of a tabular conspectus in which the whole series of one hundred and thirty-one items, or the relation of any one item in the series to the whole, may be seen at a glance—a most satisfying picture of a confused and complex group of books.

The difference in method of description in the McCoy book lies in the drastic action by which the compiler has deleted the word "issue" from the bibliographical terms employed in the work. Very early in the study of the many members of the series it was realized that different copies of the same Relation often contained differences in phraseology and spelling, cancellations, and corrections of other sorts of sufficient significance to demand the attention of the student. Not often of significance to the historian, these changes were evidently regarded by the original editors of the series and by the printers as of enough importance to justify the expense of their making. They are of equal importance, therefore, to the bibliographer, who is interested primarily in the forms in which a text is transmitted to posterity, and to whom no variation is too small for cognizance. As in the case of other series favored by the collector, the De Bry Voyages, for example, the whole subject of the Jesuit Relations has become something of a bibliographer's nightmare through the misuse, or, in some cases, the misunderstanding, of the term "issue" with its connotation of a separate, purposive publication undertaken after a period of time has elapsed since an earlier appearance of the book. The application to different members of the series of such descriptions as "first edition, first issue," "second edition, third issue," or any one of their innumerable permutations, has confused the situation

and added nothing to the value of the books to the student. It is frequently impossible, and nearly always difficult, to determine which of several forms of a Relation was the earliest in point of issue, or whether, indeed, the time element enters at all into the question. In many instances the differentiating changes could have been made, and almost certainly were made, while the book was in press, and the varying sheets gathered indiscriminately in making up the copies for distribution. Clearly the use of the terms "first issue" or "second issue" to differentiate varying copies from such an edition is misleading. The two variant forms of the Relation of 1632, for example, though sometimes differentiated as first and second issue, give no indication of the priority of one over the other and, accordingly, are described in the McCoy bibliography as Variants 1 and 2 of the first and only edition of that book. Certainly, if one of these had been a genuine second issue with an appreciable time interval between it and the other, the notable error through which in that book the approbation of the Society is headed "Privilège du Roy" would not have escaped correction in the reissue. Variants 1 and 2 of 1660, to take another example, differ only in the absence of page-number 3 from one of them. It is probable that this page-number was originally in place, that it fell out unnoticed while the work was in press, and that the sheets lacking it were bound and issued at the same time as those containing this page correctly numbered. Even if the contrary were true and the page-number had been inserted for the first time after many sheets had been printed, the subsequent procedure would have been the same, and no difference in "issue" of the finished books would have been established by the incident.

Other examples, but few so simple as those here particularized, may be selected to show the danger of designating these variant forms of an edition as first or second issue. In a day when the collector of modern first editions has gone mad on

the question of priority of issue based upon such "points" as these, it is gratifying that the latest bibliographer of a series in which "points" are innumerable should ignore the word "issue" entirely, designate whatever forms in which an edition may exist as Variant 1, 2, or 3, and describe a book as a new edition only when a resetting of type has taken place. As the result of this simplification, the texts have been brought at last to a single standard of description in which no such confusion may occur as arises when different individuals—bibliographers setting right their predecessors, collectors emulating one another, booksellers commending their wares—are free to claim priority or lack of priority for a member of the series by describing it as of this or that "issue."

It is something over three hundred years since the beginning in 1632 of the mission to New France so fully recorded in the Jesuit Relations. Throughout those centuries the little books telling of that adventure have held place in the minds of men as records significant in the history of nations and empires, sources rich in data for measuring the impulse of benevolence, and for appraising the individual human experience. But these books mean more to men than materials for the documentation of history. They release the spirit. For this quality men love them and will love so long as youth has its visions and age its memories.

AN INTRODUCTION TO A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE EDUCATIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC WORKS OF JOSEPH PRIESTLEY*

By JOHN F. FULTON AND CHARLOTTE H. PETERS

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY was one of the most voluminous writers of the eighteenth century, and, like several of his prolific contemporaries, such as Haller and Voltaire, Priestley's writings cover a phenomenally wide range of subject matter. He could justly claim, in addition to many minor writings, fundamental contributions in at least three quite divergent fields of human thought: in chemistry he isolated nine new gases, including oxygen; in the field of education he was one of the first to insist upon the value of practical instruction in the sciences and upon the importance of teaching modern history as a separate discipline; while in theology he was the chief early protagonist in this country, as well as in England, of the Unitarian movement.

I. LIFE

A few details of his life[1] are pertinent to any description of his educational and scientific works. Born at Fieldhead, a farm-

* Read, December 31, 1936, at a meeting of the Society held in Providence, Rhode Island.

[1] In addition to his own autobiography, *Memoirs of Dr. Joseph Priestley, to the year 1795, written by himself; with a continuation, to the time of his decease, by his son, Joseph Priestley: and observations on his writings, by Thomas Cooper, ... and the Rev. William Christie* (London: J. Johnson, 1806; viii+482 pp.), and the valuable sources listed by Rev. Alexander Gordon and Sir Philip Hartog in the *Dictionary of national biography*, much new and important material has been published within the last few years. This has been listed by one of us (J. F.) in a life of Priestley recently published in the *Dictionary of American biography*, XV, 223–26. Attention should be directed to

house near Leeds in Yorkshire, March 13, 1733, of humble parentage, Priestley received his early education from his father's Calvinistic sister, and from Batley Grammar School[2] near York, where he learned Latin and Greek, mastered and improved upon Peter Annet's shorthand (and wrote verses which Peter Annet later published).[3] With a neighboring Congregational minister, John Kirkby (1677–1754), Priestley studied Hebrew and, during a period of ill-health, taught himself French, Italian, Dutch, and the rudiments of Chaldee, Syriac, and Arabic. In addition to this he studied natural history, and his brother Timothy tells us in his funeral sermon[4] that at this early age he carried out experiments to see how long spiders would remain alive in a sealed bottle! At eighteen Priestley entered Daventry, one of the principal dissenting academies of England, headed by Caleb Ashworth,[5] and under his liberal guidance Priestley's Unitarian philosophy took root. In 1755, when twenty-two, he took his first congregation at Needham Market, Surrey, but his stammering, heterodoxy, and bachelordom made him an object of suspicion,[6] and he later went to Nantwich in Cheshire, a congregation of "travelling Scotchmen,"[7] where in order to subsist he was obliged to take in students for private tuition. In 1761 Priestley was called to

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the following recent life of Priestley: Anne Holt, *A life of Joseph Priestley* (London: Oxford University Press, 1931; xviii+222 pp.).

[2] N. I. Frazer, "The claim of Batley Grammar School to be the alma mater of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley, F.R.S.," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, V (1932), 133–44.

[3] Peter Annet, *Annet's short-hand; which, from thirty years trial and experience and innumerable . . . . improvements, is rendered most complete . . . .* (2d ed.; London: J. Smeeton, [1750?]; 12 pp.).

[4] Timothy Priestley, *A funeral sermon occasioned by the death of the late Rev. Joseph Priestley, L.L.D., F.R.S. &c., who died . . . . February 6, 1804 . . . .* (London: Alex. Hogg & Co., 1804; 44 pp.), p. 42.

[5] H. McLachlan, *English education under the Test Acts, being the history of the Nonconformist academies, 1662–1820* (Manchester: University Press, 1931; xi+344 pp.).

[6] J. Priestley, *Memoirs*, pp. 24–29. [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 40–44.

Warrington, the most celebrated of the dissenting academies at that time in England,[8] as a tutor. There, among the cultivated and liberal-minded group, J. Seddon, John Aikin, J. Holt, and others, and with William Eyres, the celebrated printer,[9] at his beck and call, Priestley launched upon his inkpot career. He remained at Warrington until 1767, when, because of financial exigency and his wife's failing health, he took over a church at Leeds.[10] Except for occasional published sermons[11] Priestley's principal writings while at Warrington were his educational works to be discussed below. While at Leeds and later, i.e., between 1772 and 1789, when serving as librarian for the Marquis of Lansdowne, Priestley found time to carry out the scientific studies on the gases for which he is so renowned in the history of chemistry.[12] At Birmingham, whither he had gone in 1780, his services as minister were abruptly terminated in 1791 by riots in which his house was sacked and burned because of his known sympathies for the French Revolution.[13] In 1792 Priestley was made a citizen of France by the French Assembly—an honor which made his sense of insecurity in England even greater.[14] After a number of prolonged visits with sympathetic friends, Priestley took the parish at Hackney in 1793, but in April, 1794, he determined to emigrate to America

[8] J. F. Fulton, "The Warrington Academy (1757–1786) and its influence upon medicine and science," *Bulletin Institute History of Medicine*, I (1933), 50–80.

[9] H. Stuart Page, *Classics and chap-books, being a short account of the work of William Eyres, the famous Warrington printer* (Warrington: Sunrise Publication Co., 1899; 12 pp.).

[10] Priestley, *Memoirs*, pp. 56–68.

[11] Priestley, *No man liveth to himself. A sermon . . . . at Manchester May 16, 1764 . . . .* (Warrington, 1764; 1 leaf+40+6 pp.).

[12] Douglas McKie, "Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), chemist," *Science progress*, XXVIII (1933), 17–35.

[13] Ronald A. M. Dixon, "Was Dr. Priestley responsible for the dinner which started the 1791 riots?" *Trans. Unitarian Hist. Soc.*, V (1933), 299–312.

[14] Dixon, "Dr. Joseph Priestley, F.R.S., and the offer to him of French citizenship and membership of the National Assembly of France," *ibid.*, V (1932), 144–47.

to seek political and religious freedom. His arrival on June 4, 1794, caused a considerable stir both in New York and in Philadelphia;[15] he received wordy testimonials from the Tammany and other associations in New York,[16] but he elected not to remain in New York because no one had invited him to preach! He had a somewhat warmer reception in Philadelphia, but, after living among the Philadelphians for several months, he decided that their dining habits were too much for him, and he chose, perhaps for gastronomic reasons, the secluded spot of Northumberland, Pennsylvania, whither his oldest son, Joseph, had preceded him, as a suitable place to which to retire. He had many invitations to return to Philadelphia and New York and was even offered the chair of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, but in Northumberland he remained until the end of his life. Before coming to this country, Priestley had published many sermons and had written a number of theological treatises,[17] including *A free discussion of the doctrines of materialism and philosophical necessity* (1778) and *An history of the corruptions of Christianity* (1782)—which book was burned by the hangman at Dort—but his principal theological writings emanated from Northumberland. These include *A general history of the Christian church* (4 vols., 1790–1802), *Unitarianism explained and defended* (1796), *A comparison of the institutions of Moses with those of the Hindoos* (1799), *Socrates and Jesus compared* (1803), *Notes on all the Books of the Scriptures* (4 vols., 1803–04), *The doctrines of heathen philosophy* (1804), and *A general view of the arguments of the unity of God and against the divinity and pre-existence of Christ* (posthumously, 1812). Priestley died February 6, 1804, and was working on a manu-

[15] Edgar F. Smith, *Priestley in America 1794–1804* (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son Co., [1920]; 2 ll.+174 pp.).

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 113 ff.

[17] Winnifred Reid and J. F. Fulton, "The bicentenary exhibition of Joseph Priestley," *Yale University Library gazette*, VIII (1933), 63–73.

script until an hour before his death. He was buried at Northumberland on February 9, and his library[18] was sold in Philadelphia in 1816 by Thomas Dobson, who issued an auction catalogue of the collection.

We cannot here enter into Priestley's multifarious activities. One thinks of his controversy with Burke, his friendship with Franklin, his anticipation of Bentham in political philosophy, his encounters with Blackstone, Price, and Cobbett, his significant correspondence with Jefferson and Noah Webster, and his numerous papers read at the American Philosophical Society —all these things are of great human as well as bibliographical interest—but attention is here restricted rather to two phases of his bibliography: one which has not, we believe, been discussed, namely, his educational writings and, second, his scientific works.

II. EDUCATIONAL WORKS

Joseph Priestley entered upon his career as teacher and writer in a somewhat conventional manner, by issuing as his first published work a schoolbook entitled *The rudiments of English grammar; adapted to the use of schools, with observations on style.* This had been compiled while he was at Nantwich and was published at London in 1761 within a few weeks of the time he had removed to Warrington. The book had the virtue of clarity and of being systematically arranged for secondary schools, and it had one new feature, the omission of "all such technical terms as were borrowed from other languages, and had no corresponding modification in ours, as the future tense."[19] The book was evidently popular since it passed through at least ten editions, two of which were posthumous. Successive editions which Priestley himself supervised were, as a rule, extensively revised, rearranged, and corrected. Priestley's "Grammar" is seldom

[18] Thomas Dobson, *Catalogue of the library of the late Dr. Joseph Priestley . . . . for sale by Thomas Dobson* (Philadelphia, 1816).

[19] Priestley, *Memoirs*, p. 44.

referred to nowadays for the good reason that very few copies exist. Whether the editions were large or small has not been discovered, but, because of the subject and the fact that the book was used by successive generations of school children of Dissenting families of thrifty habits, most copies were probably thumbed to pieces. Of the first edition, that in the British Museum is the only copy traced, and many other editions are known only in one copy. This leads to the possibility that there may have been other editions now untraceable.

Priestley's second educational work is a more substantial and original treatise occupying more than three hundred pages, entitled *A course of lectures on the theory of language, and universal grammar*, published at Warrington in 1762. It discusses the evolution of articulate speech from brute forms to human beings. In the Appendix to his *Memoirs*, Priestley's son states: "I believe that though printed and delivered to the students it was never fully published. I shall therefore give an account of the subjects treated in this small work more at length than if the work itself had been more generally known."[20] The editor then devotes thirty-seven pages to a detailed description of this work. In it Priestley reveals himself as an accomplished linguist with an unusual knowledge of the origins of Western as well as oriental languages—unusual at least for a man of twenty-nine years who was essentially self-educated. This is also an uncommon book, eight copies having been traced, and it seems not to have been reprinted.

There then followed from Priestley's pen while still an enthusiastic young tutor at Warrington a series of works on the teaching of history, which seem to mark an important milestone in the history of English pedagogy.[21] In Priestley's time, general

[20] *Ibid.*, Appen. IV, pp. 378–79.

[21] Very little has been written on the history of education in the eighteenth century. Useful sources are the McLachlan, *op. cit.*, and C. Mallet, *History of the University of Oxford* (2 vols.; London).

history, and especially modern history, had not been systematically taught either in the secondary schools or in the universities. The extraordinary popularity as well as the rarity of these treatises on history bear eloquent testimony to the interest which they must have aroused. The first is a curious little volume entitled *A description of a chart of biography*, published at Warrington in 1765. On page 4 Priestley states that the chart itself is about three feet in length, two feet in breadth, representing the interval of time between the period of 1200 before the Christian era and 1800 after Christ, divided by equal scale into centuries. Four copies of the chart itself have been located as an accompaniment of the first edition of the little book which describes it. It passed through at least fifteen editions, in all of which mention is made of the chart, but only four copies (all in Manchester, England) of the chart have been located. In a footnote on page 4 of the first edition Priestley states:

> This chart was first drawn out to be made use of in an Academical Lecture upon the Study of History, as one of the mechanical methods of facilitating the Study of that science. One reason for having it engraved was that those young Gentlemen who attend the class might have an opportunity of providing themselves with a correct copy of it; and it is hoped that the sale of it will enable the author to oblige his pupils, at no great expense to himself.

From the bibliographical point of view no copy of the *Chart of biography*, or of the later *Chart of history*, published at London in 1769, is complete without the charts, so only three copies of those which have been described are bibliographically perfect. Some idea of the *Chart of biography* can be obtained from two small engraved sections of them which accompany the printed text. The first, which is signed "J. Priestley, LL.D. inv. et delin . . . . J. Mynde Sculp^{t}.," lists the ancient statesmen in one horizontal column from 650 B.C. to the birth of Christ, and in parallel column men of learning during the same period. One sees graphically at a single glance, for example, that Hippoc-

rates and Alcibiades were contemporaries, as were Cato and Plautus. The second chart carries a comparison of the principal characters of the Old Testament, 4000 B.C. to 1100 B.C.—the upper half in accordance with the Hebrew chronology, and below in the Septuagint. Both the "Biography" and the "History" are equipped with extensive indexes.

A description of a new chart of history which appeared in 1769 was dedicated to Benjamin Franklin, whom Priestley had lately met; it lists the principal nations of the world, giving the year of foundation and the year in which a particular civilization was overthrown by revolution or other cause.

Priestley's later educational works deal with the development of his ideas of the teaching of history. At Warrington in 1765 was published *A syllabus of a course of lectures on the study of history*, of which only two copies have been traced, one at the British Museum. Priestley himself does not mention it in his *Memoirs*. The next is a better-known work also published in 1765, entitled *An essay on a course of liberal education for civil and active life. With plans of lectures on I. The study of history and general policy. II. The history of England. III. The constitution and laws of England, etc.* This work of more than two hundred pages formed the basis of a more elaborate quarto volume published in 1788 entitled *Lectures on history and general policy; and a liberal education.* This latter, which would of itself establish Priestley's reputation as an innovator and a great teacher of history, is dedicated to Benjamin Vaughan, M.D. (1751–1835), one of his former pupils and the only American physician who was also a member of parliament. Priestley states in the dedication:

> These lectures were formerly addressed to you as a pupil; and I should think myself happy if what you say you heard with pleasure formerly do not disappoint you now. . . . . These lectures were not intended for proficients, but for students unfurnished with the very rudiments of historical and political knowledge and that you attended them at the age of 16 [i.e., 1767–68].

Vaughan, who also left England for political reasons and whose mother was Sarah Hallowell of Boston, eventually settled on the family estate in Hallowell, Maine, and left the bulk of his great library to Bowdoin and Harvard before his death.[22]

Of Priestley's other educational works, the most important is a large quarto volume published in London in 1777 entitled *Lectures of oratory and criticism*, which, like *History and general policy*, was based upon lectures originally given at Warrington. There are two other educational works, one entitled *Miscellaneous observations relating to education*, the earliest recorded edition being that published at Bath in 1778, and *The proper objects of education in the present state of the world*, published at London in 1791.

In all these works one sees the mind of a man possessing universal curiosity, an intense interest in human nature, past and present, and evidently an exceptional gift for imparting both his knowledge and his love of the subject he held dear. As already intimated, Priestley was an innovator as a teacher of history as well as of the sciences. To what extent his influence was felt in schools and universities must be left to someone other than a bibliographer to discover. Bibliographical study suggests, but does not prove, that the influence was great.

III. SCIENTIFIC WORKS

It has been said of Priestley while he was still at Warrington that he went to London one Christmas a schoolmaster and returned a scientist.[23] The background and immediate circumstances of this metamorphosis are interesting and deserve some comment. In addition to teaching history, grammar, and ora-

[22] William Vaughan, *Tracts on docks and commerce* (London: Smith Elder, 1839); J. H. Sheppard, *Reminiscences of the Vaughan family and more particularly Benjamin Vaughan, LL.D.* (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1865). See also Priestley, *Memoirs*, p. 54.

[23] W. Cameron Walker, "The beginnings of the scientific career of Joseph Priestley," *Isis*, XXI (1934), 81–97.

tory (his title at Warrington was "Tutor in Languages and Belles Lettres"), Priestley found time to give a course of lectures on anatomy,[24] and he is said to have collected botanical specimens and probably also various forms of living animals. He was also passionately interested in astronomy, as Laetitia Aikin (Barbauld's) poem about him illustrates,[25] and one would also suppose that he stimulated his students to gaze at the stars. At Christmas, 1765, four years after going to Warrington, Priestley went on his annual holiday to London to visit libraries, carrying with him a letter from John Seddon, founder of Warrington Academy, to one John Canton, who in turn introduced Priestley to Benjamin Franklin and to Richard Price. On January 9, 1766, Price took Priestley as a guest to a meeting of the Royal Society, where Priestley must have met other scientific contemporaries. On February 14, 1766, after returning to Warrington, Priestley wrote a bread-and-butter letter to Canton stating:

> I mentioned to Dr. Franklin the plan of a treatise I am writing on Electricity. I have brought the history of it to the year 1742, when Desaguliers[26] wrote. I am at a stand at present for want of material which I expect soon to receive. Nothing I ever wrote gave one so much pleasure, and I hope that so full an account that I shall give of the order and manner in which the discoveries in electricity have actually been made will not be unuseful to further discoveries.[27]

Priestley's meeting with Franklin was undoubtedly a great stimulus to him, but from the foregoing letter one must assume that Priestley had projected his history of electricity prior to his trip to London. He refers very generously to Franklin, however, in the history, and kept up thereafter an extensive cor-

[24] Priestley, *Memoirs*, p. 49.

[25] Anna Laetitia Aikin, *The works of Anna Laetitia Barbauld. With a memoir by Lucy Aikin* (2 vols.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green, 1825), I, 55–58.

[26] J. T. Desaguliers, *A dissertation concerning electricity to which is annex'd a letter from President Barbot* (London: Innys & Longmans, 1742; 6+48+27 pp.).

[27] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

respondence with him; Priestley, moreover, acknowledges his high regard for the great American by dedicating in 1769 his *Chart of history* to Franklin "in testimony of esteem and friendship."

The history and present state of electricity, with original experiments, Priestley's first scientific work, was a formidable quarto of 775 pages, and an altogether admirable piece of historical scholarship, produced at a time when the history of science, as a discrete subject, had scarcely been heard of. Despite the magnitude of this work, it passed through five editions in English, all during Priestley's lifetime, and was translated into both French and German. In 1768 there quickly followed *A familiar introduction to the study of electricity*, which showed Priestley's sympathies with pedagogy. The book was undoubtedly used extensively in the schools. It passed quickly through four editions. Priestley's interest in electricity continued for some years, several additional experiments being reported in 1769 in the *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society*.[28]

The next subjects to engage Priestley's attention were the phenomena of vision, light, and color, and, in 1772 he published another treatise, a substantial quarto in two volumes, entitled *The history and present state of discoveries relating to vision, light and colours*, comprising 812 pages, which did not have a favorable reception and appears never to have been reprinted, although translated into German in 1778.

Priestley made important experimental contributions in electricity, but his principal fame as a scientist rests upon his study of the gases, more particularly his isolation of oxygen. The sequence of events may be briefly related as follows.

[28] "Experiments on the lateral force of electrical explosions," *Philosophical transactions*, LIX (1769), 57–63; "Various experiments on the force of electrical explosions," *ibid.*, pp. 63–70; "An investigation of the lateral explosion, and of the electricity communicated in the electrical circuit," *ibid.*, LX (1770), 192–210; "An account of a new electrometer, contrived by Mr. William Henly, and of some electrical experiments made by him in a letter from Dr. Priestley, F.R.S., to Dr. Franklin, F.R.S.," *ibid.*, LXII (1772), 359–64.

As a result of his studies on electricity, Priestley had come erroneously to believe that "fixed air" (carbon dioxide), which James Black had lately isolated,[29] would, unlike normal air, conduct electricity. When he removed from Warrington to Leeds in September, 1767, he obtained a supply of fixed air from a neighboring brewery, but, most unfortunately, just as his experiments were nearing completion, he tipped over one of his beakers into a large vat of beer and was not again admitted to the brewery! His impression about the electrical conductivity of fixed air proved wrong; however, he found that water absorbed "fixed air," and he thus revealed the process by which drinking water could be artificially charged. Priestley felt at once, and perhaps justly, that he had conferred a great boon upon humanity, but he did not quite recognize the particular virtue of charged water; fancying that it prevented scurvy, he published a booklet in 1772 entitled: *Directions for impregnating water with fixed air; in order to communicate to it the peculiar spirit and virtues of Pyrmont water, and other mineral waters of a similar nature.*[30] The new panacea was recommended to the British Navy, being dedicated to the Earl of Sandwich, first lord of the Admiralty. In March, 1772, Priestley had communicated to the Royal Society his memorable paper "Observations on different kinds of air"[31] in which he recorded the isolation of nitrous oxide (termed by him "nitric air") and hydrochloric acid ("marine acid air"). Priestley had actually isolated oxygen, prior to November, 1771, but, as Hartog points out, he had failed then to recognize its peculiar properties. When working in the house of his patron, Lord Shelbourne (later the Marquis

[29] Joseph Black, "Experiments upon magnesia alba, quicklime, and some other alcaline substances," in *Essays and observations read before a society in Edinburgh*, II (1756), 157–225. Reprinted by the Alembic Club, "Reprint No. 1" (Edinburgh, 1910).

[30] *Directions for impregnating water with fixed air; in order to communicate to it the peculiar spirit and virtues of Pyrmont water, and other mineral waters of a similar nature* (London: J. Johnson, 1772; iv+22+[4] pp.).

[31] "Observations on different kinds of air," *Philosophical transactions*, LXII (1772), 147–256.

of Lansdowne), at his country seat near Calne, Priestley on August 1, 1774, caused a gas to be evolved by heating mercuric oxide with a burning glass. The experiment was first described March 15, 1775, in a letter to Sir John Pringle, president of the Royal Society, which was published in the *Philosophical transactions* a short time later.[32] The experiment was again described later in the year in the second volume of his work *Experiments and observations on different kinds of air.*[33] In his first announcement to Pringle, Priestley said (p. 386): "A candle burned in this air with an amazing strength of flame; a bit of red hot wood crackled and burned with a prodigious rapidity, exhibiting an appearance something like that of iron glowing with a white heat, and throwing out sparks in all directions." He observed that the gas supported respiration better than ordinary air:

> But to complete the proof of the superior quality of this air, I introduced a mouse into it; and in a quantity in which, had it been in common air, it would have died in about a quarter of an hour, it lived, at two different times, a whole hour, and was taken out quite vigorous; and the remaining air appeared to be still, by the test of nitrous air, as good as common air.[34]

Priestley had thus isolated oxygen, and for the first time had recognized its conspicuous properties. Owing, however, to his adherence to the doctrine of phlogiston, he referred to the new gas as "dephlogistacated air" and thus failed to appreciate that he was dealing with a new element. However, when he met Lavoisier in Paris in October, 1774, and told him of the experiments, Lavoisier repeated and entirely confirmed them, grasped their significance, and forthwith established beyond all doubt the elemental nature of the gas.

Priestley's book *Experiments and observations on different kinds of air* is a characteristically Priestlian publication and the

[32] "An account of further discoveries in air. In letters to Sir John Pringle, Bart, F.R.S. and the Reverend Dr. Price, F.R.S.," *ibid.*, LXV (1775), 384–94.

[33] *Experiments and observations on different kinds of air* (3 vols.; London: J. Johnson, 1774–77).

[34] McKie, *op. cit.*

despair of any bibliographer. The three volumes were first issued seriatim in 1774, 1775, and 1777, respectively; then there was a second edition considerably revised of the first two volumes, the second volume existing in two variant issues; of the third volume there was no second edition, while of the first volume there was a third edition, so that most copies of this work are volumes of different editions, and for the complete text one must have all volumes of every edition. After weaving one's way through his wealth of rather badly organized observation, in which erroneous deductions were rampant, one can credit Priestley with having isolated and described the chief properties of the following gases:[35] nitric oxide, nitrogen peroxide, ammonia, silicon fluoride, sulphur dioxide, hydrogen sulphide, oxygen, nitrous oxide, and, after coming to America,[36] carbon monoxide. Most of his energies in this country, however, were directed either toward theological writings or toward supporting the phlogiston doctrine. In 1796 he published a volume entitled *Experiments and observations relating to the analysis of atmospherical air,* in which he recorded experiments performed at Northumberland. In the same year in Philadelphia his *Considerations on the doctrine of phlogiston* appeared, and in 1800 *The doctrine of phlogiston established* (which passed into a second edition in 1803), in which he attempted to support further the phlogistic doctrine which had been overthrown in 1774 by Lavoisier and had been given up by chemists in every country except Germany.[37]

In personal appearance Priestley was a thin wiry type of man, five feet, eight inches, in height, quick and alert in movement, with sparkling yet kindly eyes. He abandoned his well-powdered wig on coming to America, but he still wore his

[35] A. N. Meldrum, "Priestley's unique contributions to science," *Journal of the Chemical Society*, 1933, pp. 902–15.

[36] Smith, *op. cit.*

[37] Tenney L. Davis, "Priestley's last defense of phlogiston," *Journal of chemical education*, IV (1927), 176–83.

cocked hat, shoes with buckles, and a cane.[38] He was a rigid economist of time, and, following Poor Richard's advice on retiring and arising, he kept a diary in Annet's shorthand and devoted several hours daily to games and exercise. He worked rapidly and had extraordinary powers of sustained application; much of his writing was done in the evening with his wife and children about him, and it was frequently recorded that he could chat and write without experiencing any inconvenience from interruption.

Dr. Cameron Walker has recently discovered a portrait of Priestley done in 1763 when he was thirty years of age.[39] Here is an alert and most intelligent face, radiating hope and enthusiasm; but in the well-known Gilbert Stuart portrait of Priestley painted in this country, one sees a drawn, somewhat disillusioned, old man, whose name in chemistry had been eclipsed by Lavoisier and Cavendish and many others; whose liberal Unitarian doctrine had been the subject of perpetual and often bitter controversy; whose modern ideas of education had been slow to take root; whose house and manuscripts had been burned—a man who, at sixty-one, had been ejected by force of circumstance from his native land. Such a man was entitled to be despondent. However, to the bibliographer no man who died with proof sheets and manuscripts spread out before him on his bed could have left this world completely disillusioned.

A SHORT TITLE LIST OF THE WRITINGS

DIFFERENT KINDS OF AIR

London 3 vols. 1774–77

Vol. I	1774	BM, F, NYA, WML
Vol. II	1775	BM, F, NYA, Dson, WML
Vol. III	1777	BM, F, AmPS, Dson, NYA, WML, Y

[38] T. E. Thorpe, *Joseph Priestley* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1906; x+228 pp.).

[39] W. Cameron Walker, "A portrait of Joseph Priestley and some of its associations," *Proceedings Leeds Philosophical Society* (*scientific section*), II (1934), 549–59.

2d ed.	London	2 vols.	1775–86
	Vol. I	1775	F, NYA, SGO, WML, Y
	reissue	1775	Y
	Vol. II	1776	F, AmPS, HU, NYA
	Vol. II	1786	FI, LC, Y
3d ed.	London	1 vol.	1781
	Vol. I	1781	BM, F, AmPS, FI, HU, Y
French	Paris	3 vols.	1771 HU
New ed.	Birmingham	1790	BM, F, ACSPh, BML, CPh, FI, HU, LCPh, MiU, NYA

HISTORY OF ELECTRICITY

	London	1767	BM, F, NYA, FI, HU, LCPh, Y
2d ed.	London	1769	BM, F, BML, Dson, HU, FI, CU, JCL, MiU, Y
3d ed.	London	1775	BM, CU, FI, HU, MiU, NYA, SGO, Y
4th ed.	London	1775	BM, AmPS, JCL
French	Paris	1771	F, HU
German	Berlin	1772	F

FAMILIAR INTRODUCTION TO ELECTRICITY

	London	1768	BM, F, NYA
2d ed.	London	1769	BM, F, HU, SGO
3d ed.	London	1777	AmPS, LC
4th ed.	London	1786	BM, F, HU, SGO

HISTORY AND GENERAL POLICY

	Birmingham	1788	F (2), BM, AmPS, Dson, LCPh, SGO, MiU
	Dublin	1788	F, FI, Dson, LCPh (2)
3d ed.	Dublin	1791	F, Y

1st Am. ed.*	Philadelphia	1803	AmPS, JCL, HM, LCPh, MiU, Y
(Rutt ed.)	London	1826	BM, LC, CU, MiU, HM

CHART OF HISTORY

	London	1769	F
2d ed.	London	1770	BM, HU, Y
3d ed.	London	1775	BM
4th ed.	London	1777	Osler
5th ed.	London	1781	BM, AmPS
6th ed.	London	1786	F, LCPh, MiU
7th ed.	London	1789	BM, LCPh
	New-Haven	1792	Y
	from 7th Lond. ed.		
11th ed.	London	1801	BM, LC
New ed.	London	1805	BM
15th ed.†	London	1816	BM

CHART OF BIOGRAPHY

	Warrington	1765	BM (2), F, AmPS
2d ed.	Warrington	1765	BM, F, HU
3d ed.	London	1767	LCPh, JCB, Bowd
4th ed.	London	1770	Osler, HU
5th ed.	London	1775	BM, CU, Y
6th ed.	London	1777	F, UEL, Bo
7th ed.	London	1778	BM, AmPS
New ed.	London	1785	LCPh, MiU
New ed.	London	1790	BM
New ed.	London	1800	BM, LCPh
New ed.	Philadelphia	1803	BM
New ed.	Philadelphia	1804	BML, Portland, Me.

* Additional lecture on U.S. Constitution.

† Continued to close of eighteenth century.

New ed.‡	London	1807	BM
New ed.‡	London	1820	BM

RUDIMENTS OF ENGLISH GRAMMAR

	London	1761	BM
	London	1768	BM, Dson, LCPh
New ed.	London	1769	F, MiU
	London	1769	Y, LCPh
3d ed.	London	1772	BM, HM, HU
4th ed.	Dublin	1784	Y
New ed.	London	1789	BM
New ed.	London	1798	BM, HU
(Rutt ed.)	London	1833	CU, HU

‡ Continued to close of eighteenth century.

REVIEWS

Gutenberg and the Catholicon of 1460. A Bibliographical Essay by Margaret Bingham Stillwell, together with an Original Leaf of the Catholicon. New York: Brick Row Book Shop, Inc. (Edmond Byrne Hackett), 1936.

The world of books and printing is gradually getting ready for the celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing—a rare jubilee indeed. Already publications have appeared, or are about to appear, that discuss the ever fascinating and ever mysterious story of how printing with movable type began in Europe. The latest volume sent to its members by the Gutenberg Society contains a transcript of Director Ruppel's recent address at a centenary celebration of the Schoeffer monument in Gernsheim near Mainz.[1] He there discusses the invention of printing in the light of Peter Schoeffer's share in the Mainz venture. Another volume,[2] by Otto W. Fuhrmann, deals in a general way with the beginning of printing and the coming celebration of this event.

Miss Stillwell's study, a large volume, beautifully printed in black and red, but a little clumsily bound, was written to accompany single original leaves of the "Catholicon," taken from an incomplete copy in the possession of E. Byrne Hackett, the New York dealer. Like the smaller volumes just mentioned, Miss Stillwell's essay is devoted to the invention of printing, but, by placing the famous "Catholicon" into the center of the discussion, it leads us in an unusual and most interesting fashion into the very heart of the controversy.

The "Catholicon" is one of the great puzzles in the history of earliest printing. It is one of the first books to mention the date of its completion, 1460, and definitely the first volume to state its place of origin, Mainz. But it does not give the name of a printer. The famous Psalter, dated 1457, did mention Fust and Schoeffer, so presumably the "Catholicon" was not their work. The "Catholicon" contains a

[1] Aloys Ruppel, *Peter Schoeffer aus Gernsheim* (Mainz: Gutenberg-Gesellschaft 1937).

[2] *The five hundredth anniversary of the invention of printing* (New York: Philip C. Duschnes, 1937).

veiled allusion to the personality responsible for the invention of printing, and a most tantalizing reference, detailed, yet not definite, to the technique of earliest typefounding. Was it, then, the work of Gutenberg? If it was, why is the presswork in a 1460 book so very much poorer than in Gutenberg's Bible, which was completed by 1455? And why is the type used weaker in design than Gutenberg's liturgical letter in any of its successive stages from the first primitive cuttings through to the perfected forms of the Bible? And why, also, is this type of 1460 weaker in design and much more primitive in cutting than Schoeffer's Durandus type of 1459? These, and other questions, have intrigued, stirred, and worried some of the most capable European bibliographers for over half a century, and the literature on the subject is tremendous.

With infinite patience and acumen, Miss Stillwell has studied, absorbed, and weighed this mass of controversial material, and has kept her head above water. She has had the unusual strength to resist the temptation of taking sides and, even harder, of following her own hunches and inklings. Her essay is a masterpiece of detached scholarship, yet it is written with a simplicity and charm that makes it a genuine pleasure to read. Her style and her images, it seems to me, are of a standard rarely found in bibliographical writing. This does not mean, however, that the work is done with less accuracy and less attention to the minutest details than the most austere example of typographic research. There is, for instance, a table, "Registered copies of the Catholicon of 1460," embodying in little more than two pages information that it must have taken years to compile and to verify. The opening section of the book, "Gutenberg and the Catholicon of 1460," discusses the possibility of Gutenberg's responsibility for the production of the "Catholicon," reviewing in this connection the entire Gutenberg tradition in its mixture of certainty and hypothesis. It also contains an important statement of Miss Stillwell's method in separating those elements. She writes on page 6:

> Thus one is thrown back in the early printed books themselves, to their references to Germany or Mainz as the birthplace of the printing art; to the earliest known imprints that contain within themselves actual statements as to time, place, and printer; and, so far as Johann Gutenberg is concerned, to such few documents as exist and to the traditions regarding him, that found their way on to the printed pages of the books issued within the century in which he lived.

The succeeding sections, "The Catholicon, its colophon and type," and "The Gutenberg tradition as stated in the printed books of the fifteenth century," carry out this method to its logical conclusion.

Experienced bibliographers will notice only one important omission on her list of possible sources: the printing types, decorations, and illustrations used in the early books themselves. As American chairman of the *Gesamtkatalog*, the world union list of incunabula, Miss Stillwell is of course aware of the recent attacks against the practice of identifying early books upon the evidence of their types and decorations. Very likely, then, the omission of this kind of evidence is part of her refusal to take sides and to accept anything of a hypothetical nature. The principle is excellent, but obviously not everyone agrees as to what is hypothetical and what is not. My own inclination would be to admit the printing types as possible witnesses in the great and everlasting quest for more accurate knowledge of early printing.

HELLMUT LEHMANN–HAUPT

Gombo, the Creole dialect of Louisiana, together with a bibliography. By EDWARD LAROCQUE TINKER. Reprinted from the April, 1935, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. Worcester, Mass., 1936.

"Gombo" is the popular name for the French dialect of the Louisiana negroes descended from the bond servants of the French and Spanish colonists. The slave traders, and the Creole planters after them, chose negroes of different races so that they could not understand the language of their fellow-slaves and thus conspire against their masters; consequently the negroes were obliged to resort to the one common language, French. In adapting it to their tongues, they transformed it much, and in the same manner, as the semibarbaric Gallic tribes had transformed Latin into French. Certain letters could not be pronounced; the complications of genders and conjugations were left unmastered; articles became integral parts of nouns. The result was a language grammatically more different from French than Spanish from Portuguese. And not more than fifteen words of African origin survived.

Gombo literature is mostly unwritten. It consists of quaint animal fables, proverbs, and songs of love, dancing, or flyting. Being Catholics, these negroes have no equivalent of the spirituals. Their love

songs may be sentimental or realistic; the dance songs celebrate the bamboula; and the flytings, or taunt songs, have often lasted beyond any memory of their origin.

In the 1850's a few of the Creoles began to try their pens in the black man's language; but it was not until the tragic Reconstruction days that they found it perfect for satirizing the new order. Caius César Antoine, the colored barber who became lieutenant-governor of Louisiana and president of the state legislature in 1872, was a favorite butt; and any politician was fortunate who escaped being lampooned to the tune of "Dansé Calinda." The Abbé Rouquette used Gombo in which to attack Cable for his *Grandissimes;* he also wrote graceful songs.

In the world of scholarship, Edward Larocque Tinker is best known for his monumental *Les Ecrits du langue française en Louisiane au XIX^e^ siècle* (1932); but to the world at large he is the author of *Toucoutou* (1928), a novelized history which sprang from his researches into the forgotten origin of the popular Gombo song. He found the records of the trial in which "Toucoutou," to her horror, was adjudged colored; from these he was able to reconstruct the entire tragedy. Few scholars have ever imparted knowledge more gracefully and painlessly. *Gombo, the Creole dialect* is delightful reading, though it deals in part with problems of grammar and vocabulary. It will be reprinted in Mr. Tinker's forthcoming *Creoles and camellias.*

S. Foster Damon

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A Chesterfield Bibliography to 1800

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